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THE
PARLIAMENTARY
OR
CONSTITUTIONAL
History of England,

From the earliest TIMES,
TO THE
Restoration of King CHARLES II.

COLLECTED

From the RECORDS, the ROLLS of Parliament, the JOURNALS
of both Houses, the Public LIBRARIES, Original MANU-
SCRIPTS, scarce SPEECHES, and TRACTS; all compared
with the several Contemporary Writers, and connected,
throughout, with the History of the Times.

By SEVERAL HANDS.

THE SECOND EDITION.
IN TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. XXI.

From the Meeting of *Cromwell's* third Parliament, in *September*, 1656,
to the great Confusions in *October*, 1659.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. and R. TONSON, and A. MILLAR, in the
Strand; and W. SANDBY, in *Fleet-street*.

MDCCLXIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

IN THREE VOLUMES



Printed by W. Johnston, at the
Printers, in Pall-mall

VOLUME I
CONTAINING THE
FIRST SETTLEMENT

TO THE

REIGN OF KING WILLIAM III. 1689-1702

LONDON

Printed by W. Johnston, at the
Printers, in Pall-mall



THE
PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.



Vigorous Prosecution of the War with Spain, requiring large Supplies, the Protector was necessitated to call a Parliament: But lest a new one should prove as refractory as the last, which, in January, 1654, he had dissolved in high Disgust, he resolved to leave no Means unattempted to pack together an Assembly of Men devoted to his own Ambitious and Arbitrary Designs. In effecting this his Major-Generals of Counties, of which new Kind of Officers, we have taken particular Notice in our last Volume, were highly serviceable (a); not only in procuring, by their Influence and Authority, themselves and their Dependents, such as Governors of Castles and Garrisons, Colonels of Regiments in the Army, Captains of County Troops, Civil Officers, and Relations of the Lord

VOL. XXI. A Pro-

Inter-regnum;
1656.
September,

(a) Vol. XX. p. 433, et seq.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

September.

Protector, to be chosen ; but also in preventing the Election of many Gentlemen of the best Families and Fortunes (*b*). Yet finding, nevertheless, that a great Number of Members of the last Parliament, who had been the most resolute Opposers of his Measures, were returned to serve in the present ; and apprehensive he should not, therefore, be able, by a Legislative Sanction, to ratify and establish his Government, which had hitherto no Authority but what was derived from the Sword, he determined that not a Man should be permitted to sit in the House, without first producing a Certificate of his being approved by the Council of State.

This Tyrannical Project of *Cromwell's*, being the highest Infringement of the Liberties of the Nation we have yet met with, in the whole Course of these Inquiries, we shall endeavour to investigate, and bring together, every authentic Circumstance that can possibly contribute to illustrate so important a Crisis.

To this End we exhibit a List of the Members of this Parliament, distinguishing all such as were the Dependents or Relations of *Cromwell* ; and also those who, though duly returned by the Sheriffs, were not permitted to sit in the House.

The

(*b*) In the Fifth Volume of *Thurloe's State Papers*, is a Copy of a Pamphlet, intitled, *England's Remembrance, or a Word in Season to all Englishmen about their Elections of Members for the approaching Parliament*. This Piece, great Numbers whereof were dispersed all over the Nation, seems to have been calculated to spirit up the People against the Protector and his Government.

In that Collection also are several Letters from Lord *Broughill*, *Henry Cromwell*, *Mack*, *Thurloe*, *Whalley*, *Lilburne*, *Haynes*, *Dibbrowe*, *Massey*, *Goffe*, *Berry*, *Bridges*, &c. from the Perusal of which may be form'd a just Idea of the arbitrary Measures made use of to secure a Majority of Members in the Protector's Interest, to be returned for *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. — We shall give an Extract of one only, as a Specimen of the rest.

London, Aug. 22, 1656.

"All our Newes is about the Choyce of Members for Parliament. Where our honest Soldiers can appeare, a reasonable good Choyce is made. but the farther off from *London* the worse ; for even here amongst us, under our Nose, the Ill-affected are so bold and ingratefull, as, at Elections, to cry out, *Noe Souldiers, noe Courtiers* ! But curst Cowes have short Hornes ; and the Prudence of our Governors, by the sending for up of the rest of the Army, will doubtless secure us against the new and old Malignants boath."

of ENGLAND.

3

The NAMES of the PERSONS return'd to serve in the Parliament appointed to meet at Westminster, September 17, 1656, for the several COUNTIES, CITIES, TOWNS, BOROUGHs, and CINQUE PORTS of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland (c).

The Members in the Italic Character were denied Admittance into the House; and those with k prefixed, voted for Cromwell's being King (d).

BEDFORDSHIRE. SIR William Boteler, Knt.

John Harvey, Esq;

Richard Wagstaffe, Esq; as Captain of Foot, 146*l.* per Ann. and Captain of a County Troop, 100*l.*

k Samuel Bedford, Esq; one of the Receivers of the Public Revenues, 300*l.* per Ann.

Richard Edwards, Esq;

Bedford T. Thomas Marges, Esq; Judge-Advocate of the Army, 273*l.* 15*s.* per Ann.

BERKSHIRE. k William Trumbull, Esq;

John Southby, Esq;

k Edmund Dunch, of East-Wittenham, Esq;

k Capt. John Dunch, related to the Lord Protector by Marriage.

k William Hyde, Esq;

Abingdon B. Thomas Holt, Esq;

A 2

Reading

(c) Extracted from the Journals, Dr. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, the Diaries of the Times, Thurloe, &c.

The Account of the several Offices, &c. of which the Members were possessed with their respective Value, are taken from a Pamphlet published immediately after the Dissolution of the Parliament. — This Piece, which is wrote with equal Truth and Resentment, is intituled, *A Narrative of the late Parliament, (so called) their Election and Appearing; the Seclusion of a great Part of them; the Sitting of the rest. With an Account of the Places of Profits, Salaries, and Advantages, which they hold and receive under the present Powers. With some Queries thereupon; and upon the most material Acts and Proceedings passed by them. All humbly proposed to Consideration; published for Information of the People, by a Friend to the Commonwealth, and to its dear-bought Rights and Liberties.* — It was communicated by the Rev. Dr. Birch, Secretary to the Royal Society; to whom the Authors of this Work are much obliged for several valuable Materials.

(d) It is remarkable that some of those Members who were denied their Seats in the House, at the Opening of the Parliament, afterwards voted for making of Cromwell King. — That they were at first refused Admittance, as not being approved by the Council, is confirmed by the Journals; and yet, from the frequent Mention of their Names in those Authorities afterwards, as Tellers &c. it is evident they got in by some Means or other. It is not improbable, therefore, that their promising to vote for the Protector's Advancement to the Crown, was the Price of their Admission.

The Parliamentary History

Reading B.

BUCKINGHAM-
SHIRE.

Daniel Blagrave, Esq;
 & Rt. Hon. Bulstrode Whitlocke, as Commis-
 sioner of the Treasury, 1000 *l.* per Ann. his
 Son a Colonel in the Army, and made a
 Knight by the Lord Protector, Jan. 6, 1656.
 Sir Richard Piggot, Knt.

Richard Grenville, Esq;

& Richard Ingoldsby, Esq; Colonel of Horse,
 474 *l.* 10 *s.* per Ann. The Protector's Kins-
 man.

Buckingham T.

Aylesbury B.

Chipping Wi-
comb B.CAMBRIDGE-
SHIRE.Cambridge Uni-
versity.Cambridge T.
Ile of Ely.

CHESHIRE.

Chester C.

CORNWALL.

& Richard Hampden, Esq;

& Francis Ingoldsby, Esq; a Relation to the
Lord Protector,

Thomas Scott, of Lambeth-House, Esq;

Maj. Gen. Tobias Bridge, Colonel of Horse,
474 *l.* 10 *s.* per Ann.& Sir Francis Russel, Bart. Chamberlain of Che-
ster, 500 *l.* per Ann. One of his Daughters
married the Lord Protector's second Son.

Robert Castle, Esq;

Henry Pickering, Esq;

& Robert West, Esq;

Rt. Hon. Lord Richard Cromwell, Chancellor
of the University. Eldest Son of the Lord
Protector.

Richard Tymbes, Alderman.

& Rt. Hon. John Thurloe, Principal Secretary
of State, and Postmaster of England.

William Fisher, Esq;

Sir George Booth, Bart.

Thomas Marbury, of Marbury, Esq;

& Richard Legh, of Lyme, Esq;

& Major Peter Brooke, of Reddish.

Edward Bradshaw, Esq;

Rt. Hon. Francis Rouse, as one of his High-
ness's Council, 1000 *l.* per Ann. and Provost
of Eaton College, 500 *l.*

Anthony Nichols, of Penrose, Esq;

& Richard Carter, of Colcomb-Major, Esq;

Thomas Ceeley, of Trevisham, Esq;

William Braddon, Esq; Captain of a County
Troop, 100 *l.* per Ann.

John

of ENGLAND.

5

- John St. Aubyn, of Clowance, Esq;
Col. Anthony Rouse, Vice-Admiral of the
North and South Coast of Cornwall.
Walter Moyle, of Bake, Esq;
Launceston B. *Thomas Gewen, of Bradridge, Esq;*
Truro B. *Walter Vincent, Esq;*
Penryn B. John Fox, Esq; Recorder of this Borough,
Governor of Pendennis Castle, and Captain
of Horse. The Protector's Kinsman.
- East-Loth and* } k John Buller, of the Middle Temple, Esq;
West-Loth B. } k Maj. Gen. Charles Howard, as Colonel of
CUMBERLAND. Foot, 365 l. per Ann. and Captain of a Coun-
ty Troop, 100 l. also Governor of *Berwick,*
Carlisle, and Tinnmouth.
k William Briscoe, Esq; Colonel of Foot, 365 l.
per Ann.
Carlisle C, k George Downing, Esq; as one of the Tellers
of the Exchequer in England, 500 l. per Ann.
and, as Scout-Master General of Scotland,
365 l.
- DERBYSHIRE. *John Gell, Esq;*
Sir Samuel Sleight, Knt.
Thomas Saunders, Esq;
German Pole, Esq;
k Gervase Bennet, Esq; one of the Committee
for the Preservation of the Excise and Cus-
toms, 200 l. per Ann. also a valuable Place
in the Wine-Office, and one of the Commit-
tee for the Army.
- Derby T.
- DEVONSHIRE. *Sir John Northcot, Bart.*
Sir John Young, Knt.
Robert Rolle, Esq;
Arthur Upton, Esq; a Commissioner of the Cus-
toms, supposed to be worth near 800 l. per
Ann.
Thomas Reynell, Esq;
William Morrice, of Werrington, Esq;
Capt. Henry Hatsel, Commissioner of the Navy
at Plymouth, 300 l. per Ann.
Edmund Fowel, Esq;

The Parliamentary History

John Hele, Esq;

John Dodderidge, Esq;

Thomas Saunders, Esq; Major of Foot, and Governor of Plymouth.

Exeter C.

Thomas Bampffield, Esq; Recorder of this City.

Thomas Westlake, Gent. Town-Clerk.

Plymouth B.

John Maynard, Serjeant at Law, call'd to the Bar by a Writ of the Lord Protector, Jan. 19, 1653.

Timothy Alsop, Merchant.

**Clifton, Dartmouth, Hard-
ness, B.**

Edward Hopkins, Esq; a Commissioner of the Admiralty 500 l. per Ann.

Totness B.

Christopher Maynard, Merchant.

Barnstable B.

Sir John Coppleston, Colonel of a County Regiment. Knighted by the Lord Protector, June 1, 1655.

Tiverton B.

Robert Shapcot, of Broadmarth, Esq;

Hanpton B.

Major Samuel Searle.

DORSETSHIRE.

Rt. Hon. William Sydenham, as one of his Highness's Council, 1000 l. per Ann. and as a Commissioner of the Treasury, 1000 l. besides the Government of the Isle of Wight.

& Col. John Bingham, Governor of Guernsey.

Robert Coker, Esq;

& Col. John Fitz-James.

James Dewey, Esq;

John Trenchard, Esq;

John Whiteway, Esq;

Devonshire,

Weymouth and

Melcomb-

Regis B.

& Dennis Bond, Esq; Comptroller of the Receipts in the Exchequer, 500 l. per Ann.

Lyns-Regis B.

& Edmund Prideaux, Esq; Attorney General to the State. His Fee for every Patent and Pardon, 5 l. each. His Place supposed worth near 6000 l. per Ann.

Poole T.

Edward Boteler, Esq; one of the Receivers of the Public Revenues, 300 l. per Ann.

DURHAM.

& Thomas Lilburn, of Ufferton, Esq; Captain of Horse, 273 l. per Ann.

James Clavering, Esq;

Durham C.

& Anthony Smith, Alderman, Master of an Hospital

of ENGLAND

- Hospital, and one of the Registers of Marriages, &c. there, 200 *l.* per Ann.
- ESSEX.** Sir Thomas Honeywood, Knt.
Dionysius Wakering, Esq;
Henry Mildmay, of Graces, Esq;
Carew Mildmay, Esq;
Sir Richard Everard, Bart.
Robert Barrington, of Westminster, Esq; a Relation of the Lord Protector.
Dudley Temple, Esq;
Oliver Raymond, Esq;
Edward Turner, Esq;
Sir Thomas Bowes, Knt.
Hezekiah Haynes, Esq; Major of Horse, 358 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* per Ann.
John Archer, Esq;
Sir Harbottle Grimston, Bart.
- Colchester B.** Rt. Hon. Henry Lawrence, President of the Lord Protector's Council.
John Maidstone, Esq; Steward of his Highness's Household.
- Malden B.** *Joachim Matthews, Esq; Recorder.*
- GLOUCESTER-SHIRE.** George Berkeley, Esq;
John Howe, Esq;
John Crofts, Esq; Captain of a Country Troop, 100 *l.* per Ann.
Baynham Throckmorton, Esq;
William Neaft, Esq;
- Gloucester C.** Rt. Hon. Maj. Gen. John Disbrowe, made his Election for *Somersetshire*. In his Place, & James Stephens, Alderman.
Thomas Pury, jun. Esq;
- Tewkesbury B.** Francis White, of Westminster, Esq; Colonel of Foot, 365 *l.* per Ann.
- Cirencester B.** & Capt. John Stone, of Westminster, as Teller in the Exchequer 500 *l.* per Ann. as Receiver-General of the Taxes, 300 *l.* and as Comptroller of the Excise and Customs, 400 *l.* also a Commissioner of the Wine-Office.
- HEREFORD-SHIRE.** Major-General Berry, made his Election for *Worcestershire*,

The Parliamentary History

- Edward Harley Esq;*
Bennet Hoskins, Esq; one of the *Welch Judges*
for the Shires of *Pembroke, Carmarthen, and*
Cardigan.
& *Benjamin Mason, Esq;* Lieutenant of a
County Troop.
- Hereford C.** *Col. Wroth Rogers, Governor of this City,*
and Captain of a County Troop.
- Leominster B.** *John Birch, Esq;*
HERTFORD- & *William Earl of Salisbury.*
SHIRE. & *Sir Richard Lucy, Bart.*
Sir John Wittewrong, of Harding, Knt.
Sir John Gore, Knt.
Roland Litton, of Knebworth, Esq;
- St. Albans B.** *Col. Alban Cox, Captain of a County Troop,*
100 l. per Ann.
- Hertford T.** *Isaac Pulter, Esq;*
HUNTINGDON- & *Rt. Hon. Edward Montague, as one of his*
SHIRE. *Highness's Council, 1000 l. per Ann. as a*
Commissioner of the Treasury, 1000 l. and
General at Sea, 1095 l.
& *Col. Henry Cromwell, jun. of Ramsay. The*
Protector's Nephew.
Nicholas Pedley, Esq; a Commissioner of the
Wine Office at *Westminster.*
- Huntingdon T.** *John Barnard, Esq;* of this Borough.
KENT. *John Dixwell, Esq;*
William James, Esq;
Henry Oxenden, Esq;
Sir Thomas Style, Bart.
John Boys, of Betteshanger, Esq;
Lambert Godfrey, Esq; Recorder of *Maidstone*
Richard Beale, Esq;
John Selliard, Esq;
Ralph Welden, Esq;
Richard Meredith, Esq;
Daniel Shatterden, Esq;
- Canterbury C.** *Thomas St. Nicholas, Esq;*
Vincent Denn, Esq;
- Rochester C.** *Hon. John Parker, one of the Barons of the*
Exchequer, 1000 l. per Ann.
- Maidstone B.** *John Bankes, Esq;*

Queen-

of ENGLAND.

9

Queenborough B. Gabriel Livefay, Esq;
LANCASHIRE. Sir Richard Houghton, Bart.
 & Col. Gilbert Ireland, Captain of a County
 Troop, 100 l. per Ann.

Col. Richard Holland.
 Col. Richard Standish.
Lancaster T. Major Henry Porter.
Preston B. Col. Richard Shuttleworth.

Liverpool B. Thomas Birch, Esq;
Manchester B. Richard Radcliffe, Esq;

LEICESTER- Col. Thomas Beaumont, of Stoughton-
SHIRE. Grainge.

& Francis Hacker, of Oakham, in Rutland-
 shire, Esq; Colonel of Horse, 474 l. 10 s. per
 Ann.

William Quarles, of Enderby, Esq;
 Thomas Pochen, of Barkely Thorp, Esq;
Leicester T. Sir Arthur Haslerigg, of Nafely, Bart.

LINCOLNSHIRE. William Stanley, Esq;

Thomas Hall, of Dunnington, Esq;

Thomas Lister, of Colby, Esq;

Thomas Hatcher, of Carleton, Esq;

Edward Rossiter, of Somerby, Esq;

Charles Hall, of Kettlethorp, Esq;

William Woolley of Well, Esq;

& Francis Clifton, alias Fiennes, of Great Stour-
 ton, Esq; Captain of a County Troop, 100 l.
 per Ann.

William Savile, of Newton, Esq;

William Welby, of Denton, Esq;

Charles Hufsey, of Hunnington, Esq;

Origen Peart, Esq;

Humphrey Walcot, Esq;

Lincoln C. Sir Anthony Irby, Knt.

Boston T. William Ellis, Esq; Solicitor-General to the
Grantham B. State, worth about 3000 l. per Ann.

Stamford B. John Weaver, Esq;

Grimsby. William Wray, Esq;

MIDDLESEX. Sir John Barkstead, as Captain of Foot, 146 l.
 per Ann. Major-General for Middlesex and
 Westminster, 666 l. 13 s. 4 d. and as Lieu-
 tenant of the Tower, 250 l. Salary, besides
 the

The Parliamentary History

the Perquisites of that Office about 2000 *l.* per *Ann.* more. Knighted by the Lord Protector Jan. 19, 1655.

& Sir William Roberts, Knt. as one of the Committee for Preservation of the Excise and Customs, 300 *l.* per *Ann.* and as Comptroller of the Exchequer, 600 *l.* also a Commissioner of the Wine-Office, and one of the Committee for the Army.

Chaloner Chute, Esq;

Col. William Kiffin, Captain of a County Troop, 100 *l.* per *Ann.*

Westminster C.

Col. Edward Grosvenor, Quarter-Master General, 419 *l.* 10 *s.* per *Ann.* (e)

Edward Carey, Esq; Deputy to the High Steward of this City and Liberties.

London C.

& Thomas Foot, Alderman,

& Sir Christopher Packe, Alderman, Knighted by the Lord Protector September 20, 1655.

Thomas Adams, Alderman.

Richard Brown, Esq;

Theophilus Biddulph, Esq;

John Jones Esq;

MONMOUTH-SHIRE.

Major-General Berry, made his Election for *Worcestershire*. In his Place, Nathaniel Waterhouse, of Westminster, Esq; Steward to the Lord Protector for his Highness's Lands in *Wales*.

Capt. John Nicholas, Governor of *Chepstow* Castle, Captain of Foot, also of a Militia Troop, and Treasurer-General of *South Wales*. He married the Lord Protector's Niece.

& Sir Edward Herbert, Knt. Overseer, or Chief Bailiff of the Lord Protector's Lands in *Wales*.

NORFOLK.

Rt. Hon. Charles Fleetwood, as one of his Highness's Council, 1000 *l.* per *Ann.* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, 3640 *l.* Colonel of Horse there, 474 *l.* 10 *s.* and of Foot, 365 *l.* Also Colonel of Horse in *England*, 474 *l.* 10 *s.* and Major-General of the Counties of *Oxford*,

(e) In order to carry this Election many of the Soldiers threw off their Uniform, put on other Clothes, and polled as Housekeepers. *Narrative before cited.*

ford, Buckingham, Hertford, Cambridge, and the of Ely, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk; the Protector's Son-in-Law, having married his eldest Daughter, Bridget, Ireton's Widow.

Sir John Hobart, Bart.

Sir William D'Oiley, Knt.

Sir Ralph Hare, Bart.

Sir Horatio Townshend, Bart.

Philip Woodhouse, Esq;

& Col. Robert Wilton.

& Col. Robert Wood.

& John Buxton, Esq

Thomas Sotherton, Esq;

Norwich C. Bernard Church, Esq;

John Hobart, Esq;

Lynne T.

Major-General Disbrowe, made his Election for *Somersetshire*. In his Place, Guibbon Goddard, Esq; Recorder.

Rt. Hon. Philip Skippon, as one of his Highness's Council, 1000 *l. per Ann.* and Major-General of London, 666 *l. 13 s. 4 d.*

Great Yarmouth Charles George Cocke, one of the Judges of the Admiralty, 500 *l. per Ann.* and as Commissioner of the Prerogative Court, 300 *l.*

Major William Burton.

NORTHAMP- Rt. Hon. Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. as one
TONSHIRE. of his Highness's Council, 1000 *l. per Ann.* also Chamberlain of the Court, and High Steward of *Westminster*.

& Rt. Hon. John Lord Cleypole, Son in-Law to the Lord Protector, having married his second Daughter, Elizabeth, and Master of the Horse to his Highness.

William Boteler, Esq; as Major of Horse, 358 *l. 13 s. 4 d. per Ann.* and Major-General of the Counties of *Northampton*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, and *Huntingdon*, 666 *l. 13 s. 4 d.*

James Langham, of Cottesbrooke, Esq;

Thomas Crew, of Stene, Esq;

Alexander Blake, Esq; one of the Receivers of the Public Revenues, 300 *l. per Ann.*

Peterborough C. Francis St. John, Esq;

Northampton

Northampton T. Francis Hervey, of Weston Favell, Esq;
NORTHUMBER-William Fenwick, of Wallington, Esq; Master
LAND. of *Sherborn Hospital.*

Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt. Recorder of *York*, as Speaker of the House, 35 *l. per Week*, besides 5 *l.* for every private Act passed, and 5 *l.* for every Stranger naturaliz'd; also a Commissioner of the Treasury, 1000 *l. per Ann.*

Robert Fenwick, of Bedlington, Esq;

Newcastle upon Tyne T. Rt. Hon. Walter Strickland, as one of his Highness's Council, 1000 *l. per Ann.* also Captain of his Grey-Coat Foot-Guard at *Whitehall.*

Berwick T. Col. George Fenwick, of Brenkborne, Governor of *Leith.*

NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE. Edward Whalley, Esq; as Commissary-General of the Horse, 273 *l. 15 s. per Ann.* as Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, 474 *l. 10 s.* and as Major-General of the Counties of *Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, and Leicester,* 666 *l. 13 s. 4 d.*

Edward Cludd, Esq; one of the Committee for the Army.

Edward Nevil, Esq;

Peniston Whalley, Esq;

Nottingham T. Col. James Chadwick, one of the Judges of the Peverel Court at *Nottingham*, an old oppressive Office newly revived by the Lord Protector.

William Drury, Alderman.

OXFORDSHIRE. Lord Deputy Fleetwood, made his Election for *Norfolk.*

& William Lenthall, Esq; late Speaker of the Long Parliament, Master of the Rolls, worth about 2000 *l. per Ann.*

& Robert Jenkinson, Esq;

& Miles Fleetwood, Esq; one of the Clerks of the Privy-Seal, about 500 *l. per Ann.*

& Sir Francis Norris, Knt.

Oxford Univer-sity. Rt. Hon. Nathanael Fiennes, as one of his Highness's Council, 1000 *l. per Ann.* a Com-

- Commissioner of the Great-Seal 1000 *l.* and,
as Keeper of the Privy-Seal, supposed 1000 *l.*
more.
- Oxford C.* & Richard Croke, Esq; Recorder.
Woodstock B. Major-General William Packer, as Colonel of
Horse, 474 *l.* 10 *s.* *per Ann.*
- RUTLAND-* William Shields, Esq;
SHIRE. *Abel Barker, Esq;*
Thomas Mackworth, Esq; Farmer of the Ex-
cise in *Lancashire.*
Philip Young, Esq;
Col. Samuel Moore.
Col. Andrew Lloyd.
- Shrewsbury.* Col. Humphrey Mackworth, Governor of the
Garrison there.
Samuel Jones, Esq;
- Bridgenorth B.* Edward Waring, Esq; Captain of a County
Troop, 100 *l.* *per Ann.* and a Farmer of the
Excise.
- Ludlow B.* & John Aston, Esq;
SOMERSET- Rt. Hon. Major-General John Disbrowe, as
SHIRE. one of his Highness's Council, 1000 *l.* *per*
Ann. General at Sea, 1095 *l.* Col. of Horse,
474 *l.* 10 *s.* as Major-General of the Coun-
ties of *Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset,*
Devon, and Cornwall, 666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* He
married the Lord Protector's Sister.
- John Buckland, Esq;*
Alexander Popham, Esq;
Robert Long, Esq;
& Col. John Gorges, Captain of a County
Troop, 100 *l.* *per Ann.*
Francis Luttrell, Esq;
& John Ashe, Esq;
John Harrington, Esq;
& Sir Lislebone Long, Recorder of *London.*
Knighted by the Lord Protector Dec. 15, 1665.
William Wyndham, Esq;
Francis Rolle, Esq;
& Robert Aldworth, Esq;
John Dodderidge, Esq;
Bristol C. James Ashe, Esq; Recorder.
Bath C.

Wells C.John Jenkyn, Esq; Captain of Horse, 273*l.* *per Ann.***Taunton B.**Robert Blake, Esq; as General at Sea, 1095*l.* *per. Ann.* besides other Advantages.Col. Thomas Gorges, one of the Commissioners for the Taxes upon new Buildings about *London* and *Westminster*.**Bridgewater B.**

& Sir Thomas Wroth, Knt.

SOUTHAMP-**TONSHIRE.**Rt. Hon. Lord Richard Cromwell, made his Election for the University of *Cambridge*.Major-General William Goffe, as Colonel of Horse, 474*l.* 10*s.* *per Ann.* and as Major-General of the Counties of *Sussex*, *Southampton*, and *Berks*, 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Robert Wallop, of Hursley, Esq;

Richard Norton, of Southwick, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Governor of *Portsmouth*

Thomas Cole, of Liss, Esq;

John Bulkeley, of Over-Burget, Esq;

Richard Cobb, of King's-Gate-Street, Esq;

Edward Hooper, of South-Stoneham, Esq;

Winchester C.John Hildesley, of Hinton, Esq; a Commissioner of the Prerogative Office, 300*l.* *per Ann.* and one of the Committee for the Army.**Southampton T.**& Rt. Hon. John Lisle, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, 1000*l.* *per Ann.***Portsmouth T.**& Thomas Smith, Esq; Commissioner of the Navy, 300*l.* *per Ann.***Isle of Wight.**Col. William Sydenham, made his Election for *Dorsetshire*. In his Place, Roger Hill, Esq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer, 1000*l.* *per Ann.*& Capt. Thomas Bowerman, Deputy-Governor of the *Isle of Wight*, with the Command of the Castles of *Sandown* and *Weymouth*, also a Captain of Foot.**Andover B.****STAFFORD-**
SHIRE.

Thomas Husley, of Hungerford-Park, Esq;

& Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart. as one of his Highness's Council, 1000*l.* *per Ann.*

Thomas Crompton, Esq;

& Thomas Whitegrave, Esq; Captain of a County

- County Troop, 100*l.* per Ann.
- Litchfield C.* *Thomas Miners, Esq;*
- Stafford T.* & *Martin Noel, of London, Scrivener. Has a Share in the Post-Office with Secretary Thurloe.*
- Newcastle under Line* } *John Bowyer, Esq;*
- SUFFOLK.* *Sir Henry Felton, of Playford, Bart.*
Sir Thomas Barnardiston, of Kedington, Knt.
Henry North, of Wyckombrook, Esq;
Edmund Harvey, of Wyckombskeyth, Bart.
Edward Le Neve, of Brettenham, Esq;
John Sicklemore, of Ipswich, Esq;
William Bloys, of Ipswich, Esq;
William Gibbet, of Stoke-Nayland, Esq;
& *Robert Brewster, of Wrentham, Esq;*
Daniel Wall, of Stratford, Esq;
- Ipswich. T.* & *Nathaniel Bacon, Esq;* { *Masters of the Re-*
& *Francis Bacon. Esq;* { *quests to his Highness,*
500 *l.* per Ann. each.
- St. Edmundsbury B.* *Samuel Moody, Esq;*
John Clarke, Esq; as Colonel of Foot, 365 *l.* per Ann. as a Commissioner of the Admiralty, 500 *l.* He married Secretary *Thurloe's* Sister.
- Dunwich B.* *Francis Brewster, of Wrentham, Esq;*
- Sudbury B.* *Col. John Fothergill.*
- SURREY.* & *Sir Richard Onslow, Knt.*
Arthur Onslow, Esq;
& *Francis Drake, Esq;*
Maj. Lewis Audley, a Place in the Ordnance-Office, 300 l. per Ann. Captain of a County Troop, and a Deputy-Major-General for this County and Kent.
& *George Duncombe, Esq;*
Capt. John Blackwell, Treasurer of the Army, 600 l. per Ann.
- Southwark B.* *Samuel Highland, Esq;*
& *Peter De la Noy, Esq;*
- Guildford B.* *Maj. Gen. Kelsey, made his Election for Dover. In his Place, John Hewson, Esq; Colonel of Foot, and Governor of Dublin.*

*The Parliamentary History**Ryegate B.*

Sir Thomas Pryde, as Colonel of Foot, 365 *l.* per *Ann.* besides his great Profit as Brewer to the State. His Daughter married a Nephew of the Protector, who knighted him Jan. 19, 1655.

SUSSEX.

Herbert Morley, of Glyn, Esq;

Sir John Pelham, Bart.

John Fagg, of Whiston Esq;

John Stapley, Esq;

Anthony Shirley, Esq;

*George Courthorpe, of Tysehurst, Esq;**Sir Thomas Rivers, Bart.*

Sir Thomas Parker, Knt.

*Samuel Gott, Esq;**Chichester C.**Henry Peckham. Esq**Lewes B.*

Anthony Stapley, Esq;

*East-Grinstead B.**k John Goodwin, Esq;**Arundel B.**k Sir John Trevor, Knt. A Relation of the Lord Protector.*

WARWICK-

SHIRE.

k Richard Lucy, Esq; a Commissioner of the Prerogative Office, 300 l. per Ann. and one of the Committee for the Army.

Sir Roger Burgoyne, Knt.

Edward Peyto, Esq;

Joseph Hawksworth, Esq; Governor of *Warwick* Castle, and Captain of Foot.*Coventry C.**k Major Robert Beake, a Commissioner of the Admiralty 500 l. per Ann.*

Col. William Purefoy.

*Warwick B.**k Clement Throckmorton, Esq;*

WESTMORE-

LAND.

Christopher Lister, Esq; one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, 500 *l.* per *Ann.*

Thomas Burton, Esq;

WILTSHIRE.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart.

Sir Walter St. John, Bart.

Sir Alexander Popham, Knt.

Thomas Grove, Esq;

Alexander Thistlethwaite, Esq;

John Buckley, Esq;

Richard Grubham Howe, Esq;

William Ludlow, of Clarendon-Park, Esq;

Captain of a County Troop, 100 *l.* per *Ann.**Henry*

- Henry Hungerford, of Farleigh-Castle, Esq;*
& Gabriel Martin, Esq;
Edward Tooker Esq;
Salisbury C. *James Heeley, Esq; Lieutenant of a County Troop.*
- Marlborough B.** *Jeremy Sankey, Esq; Colonel of Horse in Ireland, 474 l. 10 s. per Ann.*
- Devizes B.** *Edward Scotten, Esq; Captain of Horse, 273 l. per Ann.*
- WORCESTER-SHIRE.** *Maj. Gen. James Berry, Colonel of Horse, 474 l. 10 s. per Ann. and Major-General of the Counties of Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, and also of North-Wales, 666 l. 13 s. 4 d. & Sir Thomas Rouse, Bart. & Edward Pitt, of Kiere-Park, Esq; Nicholas Lechemre, Esq; Attorney of the Duchy of Lancaster. John Nanfan, Esq; Edmund Giles, Esq; one of the Masters in Chancery. He married a Relation of the Lord Protector. William Collins, Esq; Sir William Strickland, Bart. Col. Hugh Bethell. Richard Darley, Esq; Henry Darley, Esq;*
- YORKSHIRE.** *Rt. Hon. Lord Lambert, as one of his Highness's Council, 1000 l. per Ann. a Major-General of the Army, 365 l. Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, 474 l. 10 s. of a Regiment of Foot, 365 l. and, as Major-General of the five Northern Counties, 666 l. 13 s. 4 d. also one of the Lords of the Cinque Ports. Francis Thorp, Esq; Serjeant at Law. Col. Henry Tempest. Henry Arthington, Esq; Capt. Edward Gill. John Stanhope, Esq;*
- East-Riding.** *George Lord Eure.*
- West-Riding.** *Maj. Gen. Robert Lilburne, Colonel of Horse, 474 l. 10 s. per Ann.*

The Parliamentary History

- Luke Robinson, Esq;
 Francis Lascelles, Esq;
 York C. Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt. made his Election for *Northumberland*. In his Place John Geldart, Alderman: He was Lord-Mayor of York in 1653, and presented an Address of Congratulation from that City to *Cromwell* upon his Advancement to the Protectorate. See Vol. 20, p. 277.
 Sir Thomas Dickenson, Alderman. Knighted by the Lord Protector, March 3, 1656.
 Kingston on Hull. William Lister, Esq; Recorder.
 Beverley B. Francis Thorpe, Esq; Serjeant at Law.
 Scarborough B. Edward Salmon, of Havering in Essex, Esq; as Colonel of Foot, 365 *l. per Ann.* and Commissioner of the Admiralty, 500 *l.*
 Richmond B. & John Bathurst, M. D.
 Leeds. Adam Baynes, Esq; as Captain of Horse 273 *l. per Ann.* and as one of the Committee for Preservation of Excise and Customs, 300 *l.*
 Halifax. Jeremy Bentley, Esq;

C I N Q U E P O R T S.

- Dover. Lieut. Col. Kelsey, as Commissioner of the Admiralty, 500 *l. per Ann.* as Major-General of the Counties of *Kent* and *Surrey*, 666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* also Governor of *Dover* Castle.
 Sandwich. James Thurbarne, Esq;
 Rye. William Haye, Esq;

W A L E S.

- ANGLESEY. & Col. George Twisleton.
 & Griffith Bodville, Esq; A Commissioner of the Wine-Office at *Westminster*.
 BRECON. Rt. Hon. Col. Philip Jones, made his Election for *Glamorganshire*. In his Place, Robert Nicholas, Esq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer, 1000 *l. per Ann.*
 CARBIGAN. Evan Lewis, Esq; Captain of a County Troop.
 Col. James Philips, made his Election for *Pembrokeshire*. In his Place, Col. James Lewis.
 Col.

& Col. John Clarke, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 500 *l.* per Ann.

CARMARTHEN. Rt. Hon. Lord Cleypole: Made his Election for *Northamptonshire*. In his Place, Robert Atkins, Esq;

Col. Rowland Dawkins; as Maj. Gen. of *Monmouthshire* and *South Wales*, 666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* per Ann. also Governor of *Carmarthen*.

CARNARON. & Henry Lawrence, Esq; Son to the Lord President of his Highness's Council.

& Robert William's, of Conway, Esq; a Relation of the Lord Protector.

DENBIGH. Col. John Jones, made his Election for *Merioneth*. In his Place Col. Simon Theloall.

& Col. John Carter.

FLINT. & Rt. Hon. John Glynn, Lord Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, 1000 *l.* per Ann.

& John Trevor, Esq; a Relation of the Lord Protector.

GLAMORGAN. & Col. Philip Jones, as one of his Highness's Council, 1000 *l.* per Ann, Steward of the Lord Protector's Lands in *Wales*, and Custos Rotulorum of two Counties there.

Edmund Thomas, Esq;

Caerdiff T. John Price, Esq; Receiver-General of *South-Wales*.

MERIONETH. Col. John Jones, Governor of the Isle of *Anglesey*. He married the Lord Protector's Sister.

MONTGOMERY. & Hugh Price, Esq; Captain of a County Troop, and Governor of *Redcastle*.

& Charles Lloyd, of *Garth*, Esq;

PEMBROKE. & Col. James Philips, one of the Committee of the Army.

Col. John Clarke, made his Election for *Cardiganshire*. In his Place, Sir John Thoroughgood, Knt. one of the Trustees for disposing of Augmentations for the better Maintenance of Ministers for which he has a considerable Salary.

Haverfordwest. & John Upton, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Customs.

RADNOR.

George Gwynn, Esq;
Henry Williams, Esq;

S C O T L A N D.

S H I R E S.

- Ross, Sutherland, and Cromarty*, Dr. Thomas Clarges, of Westminster.
- Inverness*, Thomas Fitch, Esq; Colonel of Foot, 365*l.* per Ann. and Governor of *Inverness*.
- Banff*, & Dr. Alexander Douglas.
- Aberdeen*, William Mitchel, Esq; Colonel of Foot, 365*l.* per Ann.
- Forfar and Kinkardine*, & Colonel David Barclay, of Urie.
- Fife and Kinross*, & Sir John Wemyss, of Bogie, Knt. Tenant to the State for the Salt Pans near *Leith*, a very beneficial Place.
- Perth*, Sir Edward Rhodes, one of his Highness's Council for Scotland.
- Linlithgow, Stirling, and Clackmannan*, & Godfrey Rhodes, Esq;
- Dumbarton, Argyle, and Bute*, & Capt. John Lockhart.
- Aire and Renfrew*, & William Lord Cochran, of Dundonald.
- Lanerk*, & Col. William Lockhart, of Lee, one of his Highness's Council in Scotland.
- Mid-Lothian*, Samuel Disbrowe, Esq; one of his Highness's Council in Scotland, Son to the Major-General.
- Merce*, John Swinton, of Swinton, Esq; one of the Judges of Scotland, 600*l.* per Ann.
- Roxburgh*, William Ker, of Newton, Esq;
- Selkirk and Peebles*, Henry Whalley, Esq; Judge-Advocate of the Army in Scotland, 273*l.* 15*s.* per Ann. Brother to the Commissary-General.
- Dumfries*, George Smith, Esq; one of the Judges in Scotland, 600*l.* per Ann.
- Wigton*, Sir James Mac Dowel, of Garthland, Knt. one of the Commissioners of the Customs at *Leith*, about 300*l.* per Ann.
- East-Lothian*, & John Earl of Tweeddale.
- Orkney, Zetland, and Caithness*, Col. Robert Stewart.
- Elgin and Nairn*, & Richard Beake, Esq; He married the Lord Protector's Niece, and a Captain in his Highness's Life-Guard, 511*l.* per Ann.

C I T I E S

of ENGLAND.

21

CITIES and BOROUGHS.

- Edinburgh*, & Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, President of his Highness's Council in Scotland, made his Election for the County of *Cork* in Ireland. & Andrew Ramsay, Esq; Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*.
- Dornoch*, *Tayne*, *Inverness*, *Dingwall*, *Nairn*, *Elgin*, and *Forres*, & Robert Woolfeley, Esq; Commissary of *Airesshire*.
- Bamff* and *Aberdeen*, & Stephen Winthorpe, of *Aberdeen*, Esq; Colonel of Horse, 474 l. 10 s. per Ann.
- Forfar*, *Dundee*, *Aberbrothock*, *Montrose*, and *Brechin*, Sir Alexander Wedderburn, of Blackness, Knt.
- Linlithgow*, *Queens-Ferry*, *Perth*, *Culross*, and *Stirling*, & Col. Henry Markham, one of the Commissioners for letting the forfeited Estates in Ireland, 300 l. per Ann.
- St. Andrews*, *Dysart*, *Kirkaldy*, *Coupar*, *Anstruther-Easter*, *Pittenween*, *Crail*, *Dumfermling*, *Kinghorn*, *Amstruther-Wester*, *Innerkeithing*, *Kilrenny*, and *Burnt-Island*, Col. Nathaniel Whetham, one of the Council in Scotland, about 500 l. per Ann.
- Lanerk*, *Glasgow*, *Rutherglen*, *Rothesay*, *Renfrew*, *Aire*, *Irwin*, and *Dumbarton*, George Talbot, Esq; Col. of Foot, 365 l. per Ann.
- Dumfries*, *Sanquhar*, *Lochmaben*, *Annan*, *Wigton*, *Kirkcudbright*, *Whitehorn*, and *Galloway*, Col. Salmon, made his Election for Scarborough. In his Place, Col. Thomas Talbot.
- Peebles*, *Selkirk*, *Jedburgh*, *Lauder*, *North-Berwick*, *Dunbar*, and *Haddington*, George Downing, Esq; Scout-Master General, made his Election for *Carlisle*. In his Place, John Vincent, of Warnford, in Northumberland Esq;

I R E L A N D.

COUNTIES

- Meath* and *Lowth*, & John Fowke, Esq; Colonel of Foot, 365 l. per Ann. and Governor of *Drogheda*. & Major-William Aston.
- Kildare* and *Wicklow*, Sir Hardress Waller, Knt. as a Major-General in the Army, 365 l. per Ann. and Colonel of Foot; made his Election for *Kerry*, *Limerick*, and *Clare*.

- & Anthony Morgan, Esq; Major of Horse, 358 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
- Dublin*, & John Byffe, Esq; Recorder of Dublin.
- Catherlough, Wexford, Kilkenny, and Queen's County*, Thomas Sadler, Esq; Colonel of Foot 365 *l.* per Ann.
- Daniel Redman, Esq; Major of Horse in *Ireland*, 358 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
- West-Meath, Longford, and King's County*, & Sir Theophilus Jones, Knt. Major of Horse, 358 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
- & Henry Owen, Esq; Major of Horse, 358 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
- Down, Antrim, and Armagh*, Thomas Cooper, Esq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in *Scotland*, and another in *Ireland*; also Governor of *Carrickfergus*.
- Lieutenant-Colonel James Trayle.
- Derry, Donnegal, and Tyrone*, & Lieutenant Colonel Tristram Beresford, of Colerane.
- Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Newburgh, of Lifford.
- Cavan, Fermannagh, and Monaghan*, Richard Blaney, Esq;
- Kerry, Limerick, and Clare*, Sir Hardress Waller. Knt.
- Henry Ingoldsbey, Esq; Colonel of Foot, the Protector's Kinsman.
- Cork*, & Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, as President of the Council in *Scotland*, 1000 *l.* per Ann. besides other Advantages; and as Colonel of Horse in *Ireland*, 474 *l.* 10 *s.*
- Tipperary and Waterford*, & Sir John Reynolds, as Commissary-General of Horse in *Ireland*, 373 *l.* per Ann. and as Colonel of Horse there 474 *l.* 10 *s.* Knighted by the Lord Protector June 11, 1655.
- Daniel Abbot, Esq; Colonel of Dragoons in *Ireland*.
- Sligo, Roscommon, and Le Trim*, Sir Robert King, Knt. Commissary of the Musters.
- & John Bridges, Esq; Captain of Foot, 146 *l.* per Ann.
- Galway and Mayo*, Sir Charles Coot, Knt. and Bart. President of *Connaught*.
- & Lieutenant-Colonel John Bret.

CITIES and TOWNS.

- Dublin*, & Richard Tigh, Esq; Mayor of the said City.
- Limerick and Kilmallock*, & Walter Waller, Esq; Son of Sir Hardress Waller.
- Waterford and Clonmel*, & Capt. William Halfey.
- Carrickfergus*

of ENGLAND.

23

Carrickfergus and Belfast, John Davies, Esq;

Cork and Youghall, & Maj. Gen. Willam Jephson.

Bandon and King'sale, & Vincent Gookyn Esq; one

of the Commissioners for letting the forfeited Estates in *Ireland*, 300 l. per Ann.

Derry and Colerane, Ralph King, of Londonderry,

Esq; one of the Commissioners for letting the forfeited Estates in *Ireland*, 300 l. per

Ann.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

September.

The foregoing List confirms Mr. *Ludlow's* Observation, 'That tho' about one hundred *English* Members, elected by their Country, were kept out of the House; yet those for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, being chosen by the Sword, were admitted without Scruple (f);'

Having thus endeavoured to exhibit the best Idea we could of the Characters of the Members which constituted this Partial and Unconstitutional Assembly, we shall now give an Account of their Proceedings,

On the 17th of *September*, being the Day appointed for the Meeting of the Parliament, the *Journals* inform us, That the Lord Protector, attended by his Council, with the Officers of State and of the Army, the Gentlemen of his Household, and his Guards, came to the Abbey Church, about Ten in the the Morning; where the Members being met, a Sermon was preached before them by Dr. *John Owen*, Vice Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, on this Text,, *What shall one then answer the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the Poor of his People shall trust in it.* *Isaiah* xiv, ver. 32.

The Meeting of
Cromwell's third
Parliament.

After Sermon, the Lord Protector and the Parliament assembled in the *Painted-Chamber*, where his Highness was pleased to communicate to them the Occasion of their Meeting.

B 4

Upon

(f) *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 579.

See also Lord *Brogbill* and *Henry Cromwell's* Letters to Secretary *Thurloe*, relating to the Elections in *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Thurloe, Vol. V. p. 295, 303, 322, 327.

Inter-regnum,
1659.

September.

Upon the strictest Research, we have not been able to meet with *Cromwell's* Speech at the Opening of this Parliament; nor is there the least Sketch of it in the *Journals* of the House, the *Diaries*, or the *Contemporary Writers*. From hence we are inclined to think that, for Reasons of State, it was never printed.

However, a Letter to Cardinal *Mazarin*, from the *French Ambassador* at *London*, informs us (g), 'That the Lord Protector very much enlarged himself against *Spain*; exaggerating all the Enterprizes, which the *Spainards* had formerly attempted against *England*, and the Motives which obliged him to break with that Nation: That he also seemed to be persuaded that his Catholic Majesty and the Duke of *Newburgh* had engaged to furnish the King [*Charles II.*] with 9000 Men, to be transported into *England*: But that, in regard there were very few Advices conformable to this, many believed it an Invention of *Cromwell's* calculated to raise an Alarm, and to keep the Army united to his Interests at this present Conjunction.'— These few Hints being all we have been able to collect of the Lord Protector's Speech at opening the Session, we proceed to observe, that his Highness having finish'd his Harangue in the *Painted-Chamber*, the Members repaired to their House; where, to the Surprize of all those that were not in the Secret, some Persons, by the Lord Protector's Appointment, attended at the Door, to receive of each Member the following Certificate, before he was permitted to enter:

Several Members
denied Admit-
tance into the
House.

Sept. 17, 1656.

County of

These are to certify, That A. B. is returned, by Indenture, one of the Knights to serve in this present Parliament for the said County, and is approved by his Highness's Council.

NATH. TAYLOR,

Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery.

Lord

(g) *M. de Bourdeaux's* Letter to Cardinal *Mazarin*, dated Sept. 28, 1656, N. S. *Iburlot's State Papers*, Vol. V. p. 427

Lord *Clarendon* writes, 'That *Cromwell* imposed a Subscription upon the Members before they sat, purporting, 'That they would act Nothing prejudicial to the Government, as it was established under a Protector;' and that the major Part frankly submitted and subscribed (b). This appears to be a Mistake, for no such Test was offered; but they were obliged to produce a Certificate as above recited; Indeed the Members of the Parliament, elected in September, 1654, were required to subscribe only such a Declaration as his Lordship mentions; but, in this Parliament, the Matter was carried much higher.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

September.

Such of the Members as produced their Passport from the Council, having taken their Seats in the House, the Lord Commissioner *Liste* put them in Mind, That their first Work was to chuse a Speaker; and proposed Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Serjeant at Law, as a Person of great Integrity and Experience in relation to Parliamentary Business, and every Way qualified for that Service: Which being approved of, he took the Chair accordingly; but without being presented to the Lord Protector for his Approbation: A Circumstance of Royalty, which *Cromwell* never thought fit to assume.

The next Day the House appointed a Fast to be held on the 24th of this Month, by the Members thereof, in *Margaret's Church, Westminster*; and an extraordinary Number of Preachers were assigned for this Solemnity. The 29th Day of *October* ensuing was also appointed for a General Fast, throughout the three Nations, by a Declaration ordered to be drawn up and set forth for that Purpose.

The House also appointed Committees on several Occasions; for Privileges and Elections; for Religion; Courts of Justice and for Trade. Sir *Charles Wolseley* presented a Bill, For renouncing and annulling the pretended Title of Charles Stuart to the Crown of England, &c. which was read twice, and committed.

The

(b) *History* Vol. VI. p. 587.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

September.

The same Day an Affair of great Consequence happened, which so engaged the Attention of the House, as to prevent all other Proceedings for some Time. Sir George Booth presented a Letter directed to the Speaker, which he was ordered to read privately first; and afterwards, it was read openly, in these Words:

S I R,

They prefer a
Letter of Com-
plaint to the
Speaker, Sir
Thomas Wid-
drington.

WE whose Names are subscribed, with others, being chosen, and accordingly returned, to serve with you in this Parliament; and, in Discharge of our Trust, offering to go into the House, were, at the Lobby Door, kept back by Soldiers: Which, lest we should be wanting in our Duty to you and to our Country, we have thought it expedient to represent unto you, to be communicated to the House, that we may be admitted thereunto (i).

On the Reading of this it was ordered, That the Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery be commanded to attend the House the next Morning, with all the Indentures of Returns of Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, chosen to serve in this Parliament, when they would take this Business into farther Consideration.

Accordingly, September 19, the Deputy-Clerk of the Commonwealth attending at the Door, he was called in; and, by Order of the House, the Speaker demanded of him, *Where the Clerk of the Commonwealth was?* To which he answered, *That he was at his House out of Town when the Warrant came; that he expected him that Morning, and so did not send for him; but that he did not come.* Being ask'd, *Whether he had all the Indentures with him for England and Wales?* He answer'd, *Yes;* and, by Command of the Speaker, produced that for the Election in *Norfolk*, and read it; in which was returned Sir *Ralph Hare*. Being ask'd, *Why that Gentleman*

(i) The Names of the Members who signed this Letter, are not entered in the Journals: We suppose they were the same Persons who subscribed the following Remonstrance.

Gentleman was not returned to Parliament? He said, Because he had no Certificate of Approbation for him; and gave the like Answer to all the rest of the Members who had been refused Admittance into the House. The Deputy-Clerk being withdrawn, the Speaker informed the House, That he had called over all the Places for whom any Person was chosen, whose Name was subscribed to the foregoing Letter, and found them all to have been returned in the respective Indentures.

Inter-regnum,
1656.

September.

Soon after the Clerk of the Commonwealth, himself attended the House, when the Speaker acquainted him, 'That, upon Perusal of the Indentures, it appeared that divers Persons elected were not returned to the House: And demanding, *By what Order it was not done?* He answered, *That he received an Order from his Highness's Council, to deliver Tickets to all such Persons, and such only, as being returned to serve in Parliament, should be certified unto him, from the Council, as Persons by them approved: And that he did receive several Orders of Approbation for several Persons, and made out the Tickets accordingly.* Being ask'd, *If he had the Order itself?* After some Evasion he produced it, subscribed by Mr. Jessop, Clerk of the Council; which was read. And then the House adjourned 'till the next Morning; when, the Debate being resumed, it was resolved, That the Council be desired to give, on the *Monday* next, their Reasons why those Members, returned from the several Counties and Boroughs, were not approved, and why they were not admitted to come into the House. In Answer to which Request, on the 22d, the Lord Commissioner *Fiennes* reported by Word of Mouth, from the Council, That he was commanded by them to return this humble Reply: *That whereas, by the 21st Article of The Government of the Commonwealth (k), the Clerk of the Chancery was required to certify the Names of the Persons returned to him, and the Places for which they were chosen, unto the Council, who were authorized to peruse the said Returns, and examine*

(k) The whole of this Instrument is in our 20th Volume, p. 248.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

September.

mine whether the Persons so elected and returned were agreeable to the Qualifications therein prescribed, and not disabled thereby; and that no Persons should be admitted to sit in Parliament, but what were so approved of by the major Part of the Council: And that whereas, by the 17th Article, it was declared, That the Persons to be elected to serve in Parliament should be such, and no other than such, as were Persons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Conversation, and being of the Age of twenty-one Years:—

But are referred
to the Council.

That the Council, in pursuance of their Duty, and according to the Trust reposed in them, had examined the said Returns; and had not refused to approve any who appeared to them to be within the Description of the said Article: And as to those who were not approved, his Highness the Lord Protector had given Orders to some Persons to take Care that they should not come into the House. A Motion being then made to adjourn till the next Morning, it was carried in the Negative by 115 Voices against 80. And then it was resolved, by a Majority of 125 against 29 only, That the Persons returned from the several Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, to serve in this Parliament, who have not been approved, be referred to make their Application to the Council for Approbation; and that the House do proceed with the great Affairs of the Nation.

This last Question being carried by so great a Majority, sufficiently shews what Influence the Protector had in this Assembly: However, the secluded Members did not rest satisfied with, nor submitted tamely to, this arbitrary Vote; for they published a noble and spirited Remonstrance against this outrageous Act of Injustice, which will be best understood by its own Words:

Whereupon they
publish a Remon-
strance against
this injurious
Treatment.

‘WHEN our worthy Ancestors have met in Parliament, and have found Oppression and Tyranny supported by such strong Hands that they could not prevail to secure their Country, Lives, and Liberties by wholesome Laws, they have

Inter-regnum.

1656.

September.

‘ have often made their Protestations against such
 ‘ Injustice and Oppression, and forwarned the People
 ‘ of their Danger. To omit other Instances, so did
 ‘ the Commons in Parliament, in the third and
 ‘ fourth Year of the late King; for when he chal-
 ‘ lenged a Power to take Tonnage and Poundage
 ‘ without the People’s Consent in Parliament, they
 ‘ made their Protestation, *That whosoever should*
 ‘ *counsel or advise the levying of Tonnage and Pound-*
 ‘ *age for the King, not being granted to him by the Par-*
 ‘ *liament, or should act, or be an Instrument therein,*
 ‘ *should be reputed a capital Enemy to the Kingdom*
 ‘ *and Commonwealth: And also that whatsoever Mer-*
 ‘ *chant, or other Person, should voluntarily yield, or*
 ‘ *pay Tonnage or Poundage, not being granted by Par-*
 ‘ *liament, should be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties*
 ‘ *of England, and an Enemy to the same.*

‘ In like Manner we, who have been duely cho-
 ‘ sen by the People to be Members of the Parlia-
 ‘ ment that should now have met, have an un-
 ‘ doubted Right to meet, sit, and vote in Parlia-
 ‘ ment, although we are oppressed by Force of
 ‘ Arms, and shut out of the usual Place of Parlia-
 ‘ ments sitting, yet, having Hearts sensible of that
 ‘ highest Trust reposed in us, and being filled with
 ‘ Cares for the Church and Commonwealth, which
 ‘ with Grief of Heart we behold bleeding, we do
 ‘ hold ourselves bound in Duty to God and our
 ‘ Country, to declare unto the People of *England*
 ‘ their and our woeful Condition; and the most evi-
 ‘ dent Danger of the utter Subversion of Religion,
 ‘ Liberty, Right, and Property.

‘ We believe the Rumour is now gone through
 ‘ the Nation, that armed Men, employed by the
 ‘ Lord Protector, have prevented the free meeting
 ‘ and sitting of the intended Parliament; and have
 ‘ forcibly shut out of Doors such Members as he
 ‘ and his Council supposed would not be frightened,
 ‘ or flattered to betray their Country, and give up
 ‘ their Religion, Lives, and Estates, to be at his
 ‘ Will, to serve his lawless Ambition. But we fear
 ‘ that the Slavery, Rapines, Oppressions, Cruelties,
 ‘ Murders,

Inter-regnum.
1656.

September.

“ Murders, and Confusions that are comprehended
 “ in this one horrid Fact, are not so sensibly dis-
 “ cerned, or so much laid to Heart as the Case requires:
 “ And we doubt not but (as the Common Practice
 “ of the Man hath been) the Name of God and Re-
 “ ligion; and formal Fasts and Prayers, will be made
 “ use of to colour over the Blackness of the Fact:

“ We do therefore, in Faithfulness unto God and
 “ our Country, hereby remonstrate;

“ First, That whereas; by the Fundamental Laws
 “ of this Nation, the People ought not to be bound
 “ by any Laws but such as are freely consented unto
 “ by their chosen Deputies in Parliament; and it is
 “ a most wicked Usurpation; even against the very
 “ Laws of Nature; for any Man to impose his Will
 “ or Discretion upon another as a Rule, unless there
 “ be some Pact, or Agreement, between the Parties
 “ for that Intent: And whereas; by the Mercy
 “ of God alone, in preserving this Fundamental
 “ Law and Liberty; the good People of *England*
 “ have, beyond Memory of any Record; preserved
 “ their Estates, Families, and Lives; which had
 “ otherwise been destroyed, at the Will of every
 “ wicked Tyrant; and, by keeping this as their un-
 “ doubted Right, they have been kept from being
 “ brutish Slaves to the Lusts of their Kings; who
 “ would otherwise have despoiled them of their Per-
 “ sons, Lives, and Estates, by their Proclamations,
 “ and the Orders of themselves and their Courtiers;
 “ as they pleased; and by virtue of this their un-
 “ doubted Right, the People have commonly dis-
 “ puted, resisted, and made void the Proclamations
 “ of their Kings and the Orders of their Council
 “ Table, where they have crossed the Laws unto
 “ which they have consented in their Parliaments:

“ Now the Lord Protector hath; by Force of
 “ Arms, invaded this Fundamental Right and Li-
 “ berty, and violently prevented the meeting of the
 “ People's chosen Deputies in Parliament. And he
 “ and his Council boldly declare, *That none of the*
 “ *People's Deputies shall meet in Parliament, unless*
 “ *they agree to the Measure of their Fantacies, Hu-*
 “ *mours,*

' *mouts, or Lusts*: They now render the People ^{Inter-regnum,}
 ' such Fools, or Beasts, as not to know who are ^{1656.}
 ' fit to be trusted by them with their Lives, Estates, ^{September}
 ' and Families. But he and his Council, that daily de-
 ' vour their Estates and Liberties, will judge who are
 ' fit to counsel and advise about Laws to preserve
 ' their Estates and Liberties: Thus doth he now o-
 ' penly assume a Power to pack an Assembly of his
 ' Confidants, Parasites, and Confederates; and to
 ' call them a Parliament, that he may thence, pre-
 ' tend that the People have consented to become his
 ' Slaves, and to have their Persons and Estates at
 ' his Discretion. And if the People shall tamely
 ' submit to such a Power, who can doubt but he
 ' may pack such a Number as will obey all his Com-
 ' mands and consent to his taking of what Part of
 ' our Estates he pleaseth, and to impose what Yokes
 ' he thinks fit to make us draw in.

' *Secondly*, And whereas the Parliament of *Eng-*
 ' *land*, consisting of the People's chosen Deputies,
 ' always have been, and ought to be, the Ordainers
 ' and Creators of Dignities, Offices, and Authori-
 ' ties in this Nation; and have always, of Right,
 ' exercised the Power of disposing even the Kingly
 ' Office, and an Authority to enlarge and restrain the
 ' Kingly Power; to question, make void, or con-
 ' firm, all Commissions, Proclamations, Charters,
 ' and Patents of any of our former Kings; and have
 ' questioned, censured, and judged even the Per-
 ' sons of our Kings for abusing their Trusts, and in-
 ' vading the People's Laws, Rights and Liberties;
 ' and by this Means the highest Officers, and th
 ' Kings themselves, have acknowledg'd their Power
 ' to be only trusted to them for the People's Wel-
 ' fare; and they have always dreaded the People's
 ' Parliaments, who could call them to an Account
 ' for any Injustice or Violence done upon the Per-
 ' son or Estate of any Man; and hereby the People
 ' were secured, under the Laws, from the Rapine and
 ' Oppression of the highest Grandees and Courtiers;
 ' even the Kings themselves, fearing the People's
 ' Complaints in their Parliaments, and well-know-
 ' ing

The Parliamentary HISTORY

ing the People's Custom to chuse for their Deputies the most known Champions for their Liberties, against the arbitrary Powers and Injustice of the Kings and their Courtiers; and none of the most wicked Kings, in their highest Hope to erect a Tyranny, ever dared, since Members were sent to Parliaments by Elections, to throw aside, by Force, as many of the chosen Members as they thought would not serve their Ends; they knowing it to be the undoubted Right of the People to trust whom they think fit, and as much the Right of every Man, duly chosen and trusted, to meet and vote in Parliament without asking their Leave or begging their Tickets.

And although there hath been, frequently, secret Designs, for many Years to subvert Religion, Liberty, and Property in this Nation; and to that End the Designs of Tyranny have attempted to destroy sometimes the Being, and sometimes the Power, Privileges, and Freedom of Parliaments; yet the Mercy of God hath almost miraculously preserved the Being, Privileges, and Authority of Parliaments; and therein Religion, Liberty, and Property, untill the Time of the Lord Protector: But now he hath assumed an absolute arbitrary Sovereignty (as if he came down from the Throne of God) to create in himself and his Confederates, such Powers and Authorities as must not be under the Cognizance of the People's Parliaments. His Proclamations he declares shall be binding Laws to Parliaments themselves; he takes upon him to be above the whole Body of the People of *England*, and to judge and censure the whole Body and every Member of it, by no other Rule or Law than his Pleasure, as if he were their absolute Lord, and had bought all the People of *England* for his Slaves.

Doubtless, if he would pretend only to have conquered *England* at his own Expence, and were there as much Truth as there is Falschhood in that Pretence, yet he could not but know that the Right of the People's Deputies in Parliament, to

their antient Powers and Privileges, would remain ^{Inter-regnum.}
 good against him, as against their public capital ^{1656.}
 Enemy, whom every Man ought to destroy; until, ^{September.}
 by some Agreement with the Body of the People in
 Parliament, some Sort of governing Power in him
 were submitted unto; that hereby he might cease
 to be a public Enemy and Destroyer, and become
 a King or Governor, according to the Conditions
 accepted by the People; and if he would so pre-
 tend, he could not be so discharged from his public
 Enmity by any Conditions or Agreement made
 with a Part of the People's chosen Deputies, whilst
 he shut out the other Part; for no Part of the Re-
 presentative Body are trusted to consent to any
 Thing in the Nation's Behalf, if the Whole have
 not their free Liberty of debating and voting in
 the Matters propounded.

If he would pretend no higher than to be our
 Conqueror, who, for Peace and his own Safety's
 Sake, was content to cease from being a public
 Enemy, and to be admitted a Governor, he could
 not compass those Ends by forcibly excluding (as
 now he hath done) whom he pleased of the Re-
 presentative Body of the People, who were to sub-
 mit to him in the People's Behalf; therefore he
 either takes upon him to be such a Conqueror as
 scorns the People's Acceptance of him, by their
 Representative, as their Governor, and fears not
 to remain a public Enemy; or else he takes himself
 to be such an unheard of Sovereign, that against
 him the People have no Claim of Right, or Pro-
 perty in themselves, or in any Thing else; for he
 hath now declared, That the People's Choice
 cannot give any Man a Right to sit in Parliament,
 but the Right must be derived from his gracious
 Will and Pleasure with that of his Counsellors;
 and that his Clerk's Ticket, only, must be their
 Evidence for it.

Thus hath he exalted himself to a Throne like
 unto God's, as if he were of himself, and his
 Power from himself, and we were all made for
 him, to be commanded and disposed of by him, to

Inter-regnum
1656.

September.

work for him, and only to serve his Pleasure and Ambition.

Seeing therefore this total Subversion of all Law and Right, and the Distractions, Miseries, Blood, and Confusions that will be the most certain Consequences of it; and withall remembering the late Effusion of Blood upon no other Account than to secure Religion, Liberty, and Property, and the Freedom, Power, and Privileges of Parliament, as the Bulwarks thereof; and that by those very Hands, who now overturn the very Foundation of all Liberty, Right, and Property, and of the Being of Parliaments; and our very Souls trembling at the loud Cries of that Sea of Blood, and at the horrid Clamours of the many falsified Oaths and Promises made upon the same Account;

For the acquitting of our own Souls, in the faithful Discharge of the Duties to our Country, in such Manner as we are capable under this high Oppression, we do hereby, most solemnly, remonstrate and protest unto all the good People of England,

First, That the violent Exclusion, by any Governor or pretended Governor, of any of the People's chosen Deputies, from doing their Duties and executing their Trust freely in Parliaments, doth change the State of the People from Freedom unto a meer Slavery; and that whosoever hath advised, assisted, or adhered unto the Lord Protector in so doing, is a capital Enemy to the Commonwealth; and our Ancestors have so declared and adjudged the Advisers of some of our Kings to Attempts not so destructive or dangerous as this of his. In the 11th Year of *Richard the Second*, Chief Justice *Tresilian* and Justice *Blake* were convicted of High Treason by the Parliament, and executed at Tyburn, chiefly for advising the King that he might, when he pleased, dissolve the Parliament, and command the Members to depart under the Penalty of Treason (1). And we believe

(1) See and compare the 11th of *Richard the Second* with the 21st of *Richard the Second*, Chap. xii. And the first of *Henry the Fourth*, Chap. iii, iv. Notes in the Original.

lieve every Man can discern how much it is more
mischievous for a King, or any other, to com-
mand one, two, or three hundred of the Members
to depart, and call the rest a Parliament, to give
Countenance to his Oppression.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

September.

If our Kings might have commanded away, from
the Parliaments, all such Persons of Conscience,
Wisdom, and Honour, as could not be corrupted,
frighted nor cozened by them to betray their
Country, our Ancestors could not have left us ei-
ther Liberties or Estates to defend.

Secondly, We do further likewise protest, That
all such chosen Members for a Parliament, as shall
take upon them to approve of the forcible Exclu-
sion of other chosen Members, or shall sit, vote,
and act by the Name of the Parliament of *England*,
while, to their Knowledge, many of the chosen
Members are so by Force shut out; we say such
ought to be reputed Betrayers of the Liberties of
England, and Adherents to the capital Enemies of
the Commonwealth.

Thirdly, We do hereby further protest, That
the present Assembly at *Westminster* is not the Re-
sentative Body of *England*; and also that they
sit under the daily Awe and Terror of the Lord
Protector's armed Men, not daring to consult or
debate, freely, the great Concernments of their
Country, nor daring to oppose his Usurpation and
Oppression: And that, therefore, untill there can
be a free Parliament, we do protest against all
such Votes, Orders, Ordinances, or Laws as shall
be pretended to be made or enacted by the present
Assembly at *Westminster*, as being null and void in
themselves, and of no legal Effect or Power.
Neither can any of them, according to the Laws
of God, or the Fundamental Constitutions of our
Country, be imposed upon any Man, neither can
Tax or Tallage be justly, or lawfully raised by
them.

And to avoid all further vain Pretences of a Ne-
cessity, at present, to act in extraordinary Ways
for present Safety, we do further declare, That a

Inter-regnum.

1656.

September.

Free Parliament is the only Judge of such Dangers and Necessities of this Commonwealth, as may warrant any extraordinary acting beside or against the Laws : And if the Kingly Power, that was in *England*, were lawfully settled in the Lord Protector, yet had he no Colour of Right to judge of the Cases of Necessity that should make it lawful for him to transgress the known Laws ; but, by the known Judgment of Parliaments, those that should so advise him were guilty of High Treason. We do therefore appeal unto God, and all the good People of *England*, for Assistance and Protection in their Service ; hereby declaring our Readiness and earnest Desires to attend upon our Country's Service, and to expose our Lives and Estates to the uttermost Hazards therein, to prevent the Ruin and Confusion that now threatens it, if it shall please God to enable them to redeem themselves from the present Oppression ; that their chosen Deputies may meet and consult how to advance the Glory of God, promote the true Religion, and provide for the Safety, Liberty, Peace, and Happiness of the Commonwealth. And, in the Interim, we shall endeavour to pour out our sad Complaints before the Lord against our powerful Oppressors ; humbly hoping that he will come forth speedily, to redeem his People out of the Hands of wicked and deceitful Men (m.)

Arthur Haslerigge,
Thomas Scott,
John Bulkley,
John Birch,
George Fenwick,
Anthony Irby,
Thomas Lister,
Thomas Birch,
Thomas Adams,

Thomas Saunders,
Henry Darley,
John Weaver,
Alexander Popham,
John Goodwyn,
Francis Thorpe,
Anthony Ashley Cooper,
John Southby,
Richard Grenville,

Richard

(m) Mr. *Whitelocke* has given us a Copy of this Remonstrance ; and amongst the Subscribers to it, mentions Mr. *Herbert Morley* and Mr. *John Fagg* : But, by Letters in *Thurloe's Collections*, it appears that, tho' those two Gentlemen were denied Admittance into the House. they either disapproved, or had not Courage to sign, this

Thurloe Vol. V. p. 490.

of ENGLAND,

37

Inter-regnum,
1656.

September.

<i>Richard Browne,</i>	<i>John Northcott,</i>
<i>Richard Darley,</i>	<i>John Young,</i>
<i>Thomas St. Nicholas,</i>	<i>John Dodderidge,</i>
<i>William James,</i>	<i>Henry Hungerford,</i>
<i>John Boys,</i>	<i>Salisbury,</i>
<i>Charles Hall,</i>	<i>Edward Tooker,</i>
<i>John Jones,</i>	<i>William Morris,</i>
<i>William Woolley,</i>	<i>John Hele,</i>
<i>Richard Radcliffe,</i>	<i>Edward Turner,</i>
<i>William Savile,</i>	<i>Chaloner Chute,</i>
<i>Theophilus Biddulph,</i>	<i>Daniel Shatterden,</i>
<i>Henry Milamay,</i>	<i>Thomas Styles,</i>
<i>Harbottle Grimston,</i>	<i>Richard Beale,</i>
<i>William Welby,</i>	<i>John Selliard,</i>
<i>Charles Hussy,</i>	<i>Walter Moyle,</i>
<i>Edmund Harvey,</i>	<i>Walter Vincent,</i>
<i>John Sicklemore,</i>	<i>John Gell,</i>
<i>William D'Oiley,</i>	<i>Henry Arthington,</i>
<i>Ralph Hare,</i>	<i>Henry Tempest,</i>
<i>John Hobart,</i>	<i>James Clavering,</i>
<i>Oliver Raymond,</i>	<i>John Stanhope,</i>
<i>Jeremy Bentley,</i>	<i>Peniston Whaley,</i>
<i>Philip Woodhouse,</i>	<i>Abel Barker,</i>
<i>John Buxton,</i>	<i>Samuel Moore,</i>
<i>William Bloys,</i>	<i>Thomas Minors,</i>
<i>William Gibbs,</i>	<i>John Bowyer,</i>
<i>Thomas Sotberton,</i>	<i>Samuel Jones,</i>
<i>Thomas Bowes,</i>	<i>John Aston,</i>
<i>Edward Harley,</i>	<i>Andrew Lloyd,</i>
<i>Clement Throckmorton</i>	<i>Edward Hooper,</i>
<i>Daniel Wall,</i>	<i>Thomas Rivers,</i>
<i>Henry North,</i>	<i>Henry Peckham,</i>
<i>Richard Lucy,</i>	<i>Charles Lloyd,</i>
<i>John Wittewrong,</i>	<i>John Thurbarne,</i>
<i>George Courthorpe,</i>	<i>William Fisher,</i>
<i>Samuel Got,</i>	<i>John Gore,</i>
<i>John Buckland,</i>	<i>Rowland Litton,</i>
<i>Robert Long,</i>	

Animated by this gallant Remonstrance, and re-
senting the infamous Behaviour of a pack'd Majo-
rity, so many Members, ashamed of their Com-
panions,

Inter-regnum.
1656.

October,

nions, left the House, that, in order to save Appearances, it was resolv'd, on the 29th of this Month, That all Persons who had been return'd to serve in this Parliament, and had been, or might be, approved by the Council, should give their Attendance within seven Days. As to those who had been excluded for want of such Approbation, no farther Notice was taken of them: But the rest proceeded to appoint Committees on public Business, particularly *Scots and Irish Affairs*: And, to give the Protector still greater Assurances of their Attachment to his Government, a Bill was brought in, and read once, intitled, *An Act for the Security of his Highness the Lord Protector's Person, and Continuance of the Nation in Peace and Safety*. A Bill was also ordered to be brought in, *For taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Tenures by Knight-Service*.

A Bill passed for
renouncing the
Stuart Family,

Nothing occurs more in the *Journals*, but regulating of double Returns, &c. till the 26th of this Month, when the Bill for renouncing and disannulling the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, &c. was read a third Time; and several Additions were proposed, which were, That the King's Titles should not only be abrogated, but all the Titles that ever belonged to his eldest Son, or any of the Family; as Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Prince of *Scotland*, Duke of *Albany*, Duke of *Rothesay*, Duke of *York*, or Duke of *Gloucester*. Afterwards the Bill, with these and other Amendments made to it, being put to the Question, passed, and, as the *Journals* have it, *nemine contradicente*. It was ordered, at the same Time, That the Lord Protector's Assent be desired to this Bill. Lastly, a Committee was appointed to consider of the Way of Address to his Highness, with Bills, and report it to the House. Accordingly,

The Manner of
presenting Bills
for the Protec-
tor's Consent.

October 1. The said Report was made; on which it was resolved, 1. 'That a Copy of every Bill that shall pass the House, be made, and carefully examined

ed by the Clerk of the Parliament, with the Original, and signed by him : That the Speaker, with the whole House, shall attend the Lord Protector; and, in their Name, present the Bills to his Highness for his Consent: That the Clerk shall read the Titling of the Bills; and, if the Lord Protector require it, the Bills also: And then the Speaker shall deliver to his Highness the Copy.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

October,

2. ' That the Place of Meeting for the Lord Protector to pass Bills, shall be the *Painted-Chamber*.

' That when the Lord Protector shall pass a Bill, the Form of Words to be used shall be these, *The Lord Protector doth consent*; which Words shall be entered (n) upon the Bill.

4. ' That the Lord Protector may require the Judges and such Officers of State to attend him, at the Time of presenting and passing of Bills, as his Highness shall think fit.

5. ' That it be referred back to the same Committee, to consider what Words are fit to be used when a Bill is first passed by this House; and to be indorsed by the Clerk thereupon: How Notice shall be given to the House, when his Highness comes to pass Bills: What Words shall be used when, in case the Lord Protector doth not consent in twenty Days, a Bill is to become a Law: And how Bills may be passed in case of the Lord Protector's Sickness or Absence.

A War with *Spain* having been entered into by The Parliament the Protector and his Council, it was, at the same Time, thought proper to communicate this Affair to the Parliament; who, having heard the Report, it was resolved, ' That the War against the *Spaniard* was undertaken upon just and necessary Grounds, and for the good of the People of this Commonwealth: That the House doth approve thereof; and will, by God's Blessing, assist his Highness therein: And a Committee was appointed

approves of the
War with *Spain*

C 4

to

(n) The Word *Entered* was inserted instead of the Word *Indorsed*. And this Note is written against it in the Margin, " Amended by Order, upon the Question, the 20th of November.

Commons Journals.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

October.

A great Victory
obtained over
that Nation.

to prepare a Declaration to shew the Justice of this War; and the Necessity of carrying on the same.

The very next Day Letters from the Admirals *Blake* and *Montague*, to the Protector, were communicated to the House by Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*, giving Intelligence of a considerable Victory over the *Spanish West-India* Fleet, and of the taking of several of their Ships. On which News a Day of Thanksgiving was appointed by the House, to bless God for his great Mercies on this Occasion; and a Declaration ordered to be drawn up as a Narrative of this Success, to be prefixed to the Order for the Thanksgiving. The Thanks of the House were also voted to Admiral *Montague*, who that Day took his Seat in Parliament; and the same Compliment was afterwards paid to Admiral *Blake*.

A Bill for Security of the Protector's Person.

Oct. 9. Great Debates were this Day on the Bill for the Security of the Protector's Person, and many Additions and Amendments made to it; after which, being put to the Question, and passed, it was ordered, 'That his Highness's Consent be desired thereto.' The House was also at this Time employed about several other Bills, of different Natures, of which Notice will be taken in the Sequel.

Oct. 11. This Day a Letter, or rather a Message, from the Lord Protector, was delivered to the Speaker; which, for its having all the Attributes of Regal Style, more than for the Matter of it, we give as follows:

To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved
Sir THOMAS WIDDRINGTON, Knight, Speaker
of the Parliament,

OLIVER P.

Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved, we greet
you well,

Great Officers of
State appointed.

IT being expressed in the thirty-fourth Article of the Government (o), That the Chancellor, Keeper

of ENGLAND.

41

or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the major Part of the Council, to be after approved by the Parliament; and we having, before the Meeting of the Parliament, appointed, with the Approbation of the Council, our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Nathanael Finnes and John Lisle, Commissioners of the Great Seal of England; and our Right Trusty and Well-beloved John Glynne, Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, I have thought it necessary to transmit to you the Names of those Persons, to the end that the Resolution of the Parliament may be known concerning their Approbation; which I desire may be with such Speed as the other public Occasions of the Commonwealth will permit: And so I bid you heartily farewell.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

October.

Given at Whitehall, the 10th of October, 1656.

The Consequence of this Message was, that the three Persons recommended by his Highness, were all approved by three several Resolutions of the House.

The Spanish War continuing to be carried on with Vigour, the House went upon Ways and Means to raise Money for that Purpose; and, after considering how to retrench some supernumerary Expences, &c. they fell, as their Predecessors had done on like Occasions, to raise farther Contributions upon the Estates of Papists and Delinquents. In order thereto they appointed Committees to inquire strictly into any Frauds or Collusions used in the Compositions for those Estates; as also into any other Methods relating to the Excise or Customs, that they could find for raising Money for this War.

The Remainder of this Month was chiefly employed in the above-mentioned Expedients. And,

Nov.

Inter-regnum.

1656.

November.

Nov. 7. A Report made from the Protector and his Council, That an Account had been drawn up of what would be necessary for carrying on the Spanish War another Year, and how far the present public Revenues would reach to the defraying of that Charge. This Account was soon after referred to a Committee, to consider how to answer the Expence, and to present their Propositions for it to the House as speedily as possible.

The Lord Protector gives his Consent to several Bills.

Nov. 27. Several Bills being now ready for the Lord Protector's Assent, a Committee was appointed to wait upon him, and desire to know the Time when he would please to have them presented to him for that Purpose. His Highness appointed Ten o'Clock that Morning in the *Painted Chamber*; but before the House went up thither, they thought proper to read another Bill three Times, and pass it; which was, *That his Highness's passing of Bills should not be any Determination of this Session of Parliament.* They also ordered, 'That this Bill be the first that should be presented to his Highness for his Consent.' It was so done; and accordingly stands first in the Acts of this Session (p).

The Ceremonial thereof.

'So extraordinary a Caution shews very plainly, that the House, though thoroughly purged and modelled, had some Jealousy that the Protector might intend to dissolve them: However, it happened otherwise; for now the Serjeant at Arms bringing Word that Serjeant *Dendy* was at the Door with a Message from his Highness, he was called in:—The Ceremonial on this Occasion was as follows:

'Having made two Obeisances to the Parliament when he came into the Middle of the House, with his Mace in his Hand, he declared to the Speaker, That he was commanded by the Lord Protector to let this Parliament know, that his Highness was in the *Painted-Chamber*, and desired to speak with that Honourable House there; and withdrew.

'Then

* Then the Speaker with the whole House (the Clerk with the Bills in his Hand, and the Serjeant with his Mace, going next and immediately before him) went up to the *Painted-Chamber*; where his Highness attended by the Lord-President and the rest of the Council, the Lords Commissioner of the Great Seal and of the Treasury, the Lord Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the rest of the Judges, weie expecting the Parliament.

Inter-regnum,
1656.
November.

* The Serjeant carried his Mace upon his Shoulder up to the Table, where was a Chair set for the Speaker and a Form for the Clerk.

* Then the Speaker, addressing himself to his Highness, gave an Account of the Employment of the House during their Sitting: That many Bills for the Public Good were upon the Anvil, some whereof were compleated; and of these he made a particular Relation. The first of which was an Act, *That the passing of Bills shall not determine the present Session of Parliament*: This he styled a Bill for the Parliament's Preservation. The next, which was an Act *For renouncing and disannulling the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, &c.* he called a Bill for quieting the Possession of the Government. The third, *For the Security of his Highness the Lord Protector's Person, and Continuance of the Nation in Peace and Safety*, he said was for a Security to every Person in the Nation, all their several Interests being comprehended in that of his Highness. The Fourth, an Act, *For taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries*, he styled an Act of Manumission. The fifth was an Act *For granting Liberty to export several Commodities of the Breed, Growth, and Manufacture of this Commonwealth*, the good Intentions whereof were self-evident; and that there were also several more Bills of private Concernment to particular Persons.

* After this the Clerk read the Title of the first Bill presented to the Lord Protector, which his Highness ordered to be read through, and declared

Inter-regnum.
1656.

December.

to the Clerk his Consent to the same, in these Words, *We do consent*; and, thereupon, the Clerk made this Entry thereof on the Bill, *The Lord Protector doth consent*; and read the same over again. Then the Clerk read the Titles of the rest of the public Bills first, and next the private Bills, to each of which the Lord Protector's Consent was declared, entered, and published, as before.

' The Serjeant at Arms attending his Highness, and likewise the Serjeant attending the Parliament, stood all this Time with their Maces on their Shoulders; and his Highness having made a short Speech, the Speaker, with the rest of the Members, departed, in the like Order as they came thither, to the Parliament House.—But no Entry is made of this Speech in the *Journals*, or any other Authority we have yet met with.

December. The Parliament now proceeded upon other Bills, both public and private; amongst which was carried on, in a Committee of the whole House, a Bill for uniting the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* into one Commonwealth. An Affair which had long taken up the Attention of this and preceding Parliaments.

Proceedings against James Naylor the Quaker.

The Beginning of this Month *James Naylor*, styled, by the *Diaries* of these Times, *The Quakers Apostle*, was brought up from *Bristol*, and several of his Female Followers along with him. On the 6th he was brought to the Bar of the House; where, keeping on his Hat, the Serjeant, by Command of the Speaker, took it off. Being asked, If his Name was *James Naylor*; answered, He was so called: and being also asked, How long he had been called so; answered, Ever since he could remember. The Particulars of his Confession being read to him, and asked if it was his, he acknowledged it all. The next Day, on Debate, the House voted him guilty of horrid Blasphemy; that he was a grand Impostor, and a great Seducer of the People.

But

But after this the Parliament seemed to be under some Dilemma what Punishment to inflict upon him, for it was debated several Days, without coming to a Conclusion; till, on the 16th of this Month, the Question being put, That the Punishment of *James Naylor*, for his Crimes, shall be by Death, and that a Bill be brought in for that Purpose, it passed in the Negative, by 96 against 82. Then a Motion being made, That Part of his Punishment be to have his Hair cut off, it passed in the Negative, without Division. After which the House, came to the following Resolution:

Inter-regnum,
1656.

December.

‘ That *James Naylor* be set on the Pillory, with his Head in the Pillory, in the *New-Palace, Westminster*, during the Space of two Hours, on *Thursday* next; and shall be whipp’d by the Hangman through the Streets, from *Westminster* to the *Old-Exchange, London*; and there likewise be set upon the Pillory, with his Head in the Pillory, for the Space of two Hours, between the Hours of Eleven and One, on *Saturday* next; in each of the said Places wearing a Paper containing an Inscription of his Crimes: And that at the *Old Exchange* his Tongue shall be bored through with a hot Iron; and that he be there also stigmatized in the Forehead with the Letter *B*. That he be afterwards sent to *Bristol*, and conveyed into and through the said City, on a Horse bare ridged, with his Face backward; and there also publicly whipped the next Market-Day after he comes thither: That from thence he be committed to Prison in *Bridewell, London*, and there restrained from the Society of all People, and kept to hard Labour, till he shall be released by Parliament; and during that Time be debarred from the Use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, and shall have no Relief, but what he earns by his daily Labour (q).

The

(q) Upon this Occasion there was published by Authority of the Parliament, the following Paper, intituled, *A brief Account of James Naylor, the Quaker; and the uttering of many horrible Blasphemies, the like, for all Circumstances, never heard of in any Age before, with the Judgment pronounced upon him by Mr. Speaker, he being brought*

Inter-regnum.
1656.

December.

The next Day *James Naylor* being brought up to receive his Sentence, a Motion was made, that he might be asked, Whether he had any Thing to offer why Judgment should not be pronounced upon him? it

to the Bar in the Commons House, for those high Crimes whereof he had been guilty, Dec. 17, 1656. At the Top of this Sheet is a Print engraven by *Hollar*, representing the Manner of *Naylor's* Sentence being put in Execution. Then follows the Account itself, *in hæc Verba*.

James Naylor, the Quaker, having been released out of *Exeter* Goal, he began immediately to play his Pranks at divers Places in the West; among the rest, he passed by *Wells* and *Glastenbury*, thro' which Towns he rode on Horseback, a Man going bare before him, and others walking on Foot on each Side of his Stirrup, and others firewing their Garments in the Way; from thence he took his Way towards *Bristol*, and coming to a little Village called *Bedminster*, about a Mile from *Bristol*, he rode through that Place likewise, a young Man bare-headed leading his Horse by the Bridle, and another Man before with his Hat on.

There accompanied him two Men, with each a Woman behind him on Horseback; which Women alighted when they came to the Suburbs of *Bristol*, and footed it along on each Side of *Naylor's* Horse, the Man still bare headed leading the Horse; and as they advanced along they sung, and entered *Bristol* singing, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Israel*; and then the Women led the Horse with the Reins in their Hands, up to the High-Cross of *Bristol*, and from thence to the *White-Hart* Inn in *Broadstreet*.

The Magistrates sending for *Naylor* and his Companions, they came singing all the Way, *Hosanna*, and *Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.* His Name that went bare before him was *Timothy Wedlock*, a *Devonshire* Man. The one Woman was named *Martha Symonds*, Wife of *Thomas Symonds*, Stationer of *London*; the other *Hannah Stranger*, Wife of *John Stranger*, of *London*, Comb-maker.

The Magistrates having convened *Naylor* and the rest, divers strange blasphemous Letters and Papers were found about them, wherein it appeared, that this Deceiver had so far gained upon his Followers by his Impostures, that they ascribed to him Divine Honours, and gave him, in Scripture Phrase, the same Titles which are applicable to none but *Christ* himself.

In a Letter of one *Richard Fairman*, from *Dorchester* Goal, to *Naylor*, were these horrid Expressions, *I am filled with Joy and Rejoicing when I behold thee in the eternal Unity. O my Soul is melting within me, when I behold thy Beauty and Innocency, dear and precious Son of Zion, whose Mother is a Virgin, and whose Birth is immortal.*

Another writes of him thus, *All the wise Men shall seek for him, and when they have found him, they shall open their Ears, and shall give unto him of their Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh.*

The same Woman, in another Letter to him, proceeds thus, *O thou fairest of Ten Thousand: Thou only begotten Son of God, bow my Heart panteth after thee, O slay me with Flagons, and comfort me with Wine. My well-beloved, thou art like a Rose, or young Hart, upon the Mountains of Spices. Then by Way of Postscript, her Husband, John Stranger, adds this, Thy Name is no more to be called James but Jesus.*

Alfo

it passed in the Negative, by 107 against 85; which arbitrary Vote seems to justify Mr. *Whitlocke's* Observation, 'That many thought he was too fiercely prosecuted by rigid Men.'

Inter-regnum.
1656.
January.

Thus much for this Enthusiast.

The rest of this Month, and Part of the next, was chiefly taken up in hearing of Petitions relating to private Affairs, and going upon Ways and Means to raise Money for the *Spanish* War. But.

About the middle of *January* Secretary *Thurloe* alarmed the House with a wicked Design to take away the Lord Protector's Life, and fire *Whitehall*; and read the Examination of divers Persons concerned in the said Plot, taken before the Council: For the happy and timely Discovery hereof the Parliament ordered a Day of Thanksgiving to be held, first by the House, and afterwards by the three Nations. A Declaration, by Way of Narrative of this dangerous Conspiracy (r), was ordered to be

A Thanksgiving
Day for the Dis-
covery of *Synder-*
combe's Plot.

drawn

'Also a Maid named *Dorcas Erbury*, being examined, declared *James Naylor* to be the Holy One of *Israel*, the only begotten Son of God; and that she pulled off his Stockings, and put her Cloaths under his Feet, because he was the Holy Lord of *Israel*, and that she knew no other Saviour but him; affirming moreover, That the Spirit of the Lord within her commanded her to call him Lord and Master, and to serve him: That, in *Exeter* Goal, he had raised her from the Dead after she had been dead two Days: And that *James Naylor* shall sit at the Right Hand of the Father, and judge the World.

'Thus you see how this wretched Impostor hath prevailed upon his Followers, to bewitch them to the committing of strange Absurdities. An Account whereof I had hitherto forbore, but have now given it in brief, that the Honour and Justice of the Parliaments Sentence passed upon him, may be evident to the People.'

(r) It was called *Syndercomb's Plot*, which is taken Notice of by most of our Historians. This Man was found dead in his Bed the Morning before his intended Execution. Whether he poisoned himself, as was given out by public Authority at this Time; or was smothered, by private Orders from *Cromwell*, for fear he should make some Discoveries at the Gallows to the Prejudice of the Protector, (as charged upon him by Col. *Titus*, in his *Killing no Murder*) remains yet a Question. We shall therefore content ourselves with remarking, That, in the 5th and 6th Volumes of *Thurloe's State Papers*, there are Letters from *Lockhart*, *Cromwell's* Ambassador in *France*, to *Thurloe*; and from him to *Henry Cromwell*, in *Ireland*; with several Examinations and other Papers relating to this Design against the Protector's Life; which seems to have been, in some measure, encouraged by the Court of Spain

Inter-regnum.
1656.

January.

drawn up and published ; wherein the Ministers were enjoined, on all Occasions for the future, to pray *for the Lord Protector, and all that are in Authority in this Commonwealth.* The Parliament also voted their Thanks to Secretary *Thurloe*, for his great Diligence in tracing out this Plot ; and resolved to congratulate the Lord Protector upon his happy Escape. This was done by the whole House, with the Speaker at their Head ; who, in his Harangue upon the Occasion, set forth the terrible Consequences which might have ensued, had it not pleased Almighty God to defeat this Conspiracy ; as, 1st, The Danger and Ruin of the Reformed Churches abroad, and three Nations at home, who were all struck at by this intended Blow. 2^{dly}, The cunning Secrecy of it, no more than two knowing the whole Design. 3^{dly}, The Extensiveness of it, for, if they failed in one Place, they resolved to do it in another. He concluded with saying, That, if *Cicero* were living, he would want Expression to set out the Danger, or the Mercy ; so unparalleled, so unprecedented a Mercy, that the Parliament's Hymn was, *O cantemus Canticum novum*, O come let us sing a new Song unto the Lord !

The Discovery of this Conspiracy furnished the Protector and his Council with a fresh Pretence for oppressing the Royalists ; for, in consequence thereof, we find a Bill was ordered to be brought in *For continuing and assessing a Tax for the Payment of the Militia Forces in England and Wales, raised for the Security and Preservation of the Commonwealth* ; the Debate upon which was opened to the House, by Secretary *Thurloe*, in a Speech to this Effect (s) :

Mr. Speaker,

Secretary *Thurloe's* Speech for laying an extraordinary Tax upon the Royalists.

THE Scope of this Bill is to set an extraordinary Tax upon the old Delinquent Party, with a Retrospect by way of Approbation of what hath

(s) From the 5th Volume of *Thurloe's State Papers* ; in which there being some *Hiatus*, we have endeavoured to supply them, and to clear up a few Passages which seem, to have escaped the Care of the Transcriber.

hath been done of this Kind by his Highness and the Council ; so that we are to consider,

Inter-regnum.
1655.

1. ' What Reasons his Highness and Council had to lay the Charge.

January.

2. ' Upon what Grounds it shall be continued by Act of Parliament.

' What moves me to speak in it is, the Place I have the Honour to bear.

' The Occasion was, the last Insurrection made by the old Delinquent Party. Who these old Delinquents are, I suppose Nobody needs any Information ; they are described in the Bill, to be those who were in Arms for the late King against the Parliament, or for *Charles Stuart* the Son ; or have adhered to, assisted, or abetted the Forces raised against the Parliament ; or whose Estates have been sequestered for Delinquency.

' You know, Sir, much better than I, and so do most Men here, what the Design was before the Long Parliament. It was to alter our Religion, and to subvert the Fundamental Laws.

' The Bishops, so they might enslave our Consciences, and have us at their Will to impose their Ceremonies, which were but Inlets to Popery, were content we should be at the King's Will for our Persons and Estates. I remember myself, and many here remember much better, how many were banished into foreign Parts, that they might serve God without Fear, which they could not do here. Many good Ministers were imprisoned, others silenced : If two or three Christians met together to pray, this was a Conventicle, and they were haled before the then Powers.

' I fear these Things are forgotten, and we value not the Liberty we have in these Cases. I know what Thoughts we had then ; that that was the Design.

' And so in the State, the Prerogative was very high, but the People's Liberty was very low. We have not forgot the *German Horse* that were to be brought over, and the Army in *Ireland* that was to be raised to enslave them first, and them to do the

Inter-regnum,
1656.

January.

fame here. What was doing in *Scotland* many Gentlemen here, I doubt not, that rejoice to see this Day, can tell you large Stories of.

‘Parliaments were set aside: How many had ye between 3^o and 16^o Car. in 13 Years together? Not one; no, they had got a Way to govern without Parliaments; and the Laws in *Westminster-Hall* began to be of little Use. The Judges, that were honest and true to the People’s Liberties, were either removed or discountenanced, that *ad Placitum Regis sint Sententiæ Legis*: Other Courts flourished; the Marches of *Wales*, the Presidentship of *York*, the Star-Chamber, the Council-Board, the High-Commission, and, I am loth to name, the Chancery; but good Use was made of that too, for their Purposes that were arbitrary; and the Design was to rack all Things so, that a Man could not be met with there that would hear Reason.

‘The Truth was, the Design was to govern us by a Power that might be turned against us; and it was said, *quod placuit Principi, Legis Vim habet*.

‘Things were almost become desperate; and all Men who loved their Country thought, all, either of suffering or of flying. This, I say, was the first Design. To do an arbitrary Act, out of Necessity to save the whole, that’s another Thing; but this was Matter of Choice.

‘In this Conjunction of Affairs the Long Parliament comes: questions the King’s Counsellors; undertakes the Cause of the Nation, and advises the King: Instead of listening to them, he takes the Advantage of raising an Army in Prosecution of his former Design, and to defend those who were the Instruments thereof. A great Part of the Nation, whom he and his Counsellors had debauched, and, who were seasoned with the same Principles, in Hatred to the Spirit of Reformation and Liberty, which appeared in the Parliament, adhered to him; took up Arms with him, and in his Cause; and I believe Nobody here hath forgot how much Blood and Treasure this Course hath cost this Nation in a Ten-years War; for near so long hath this Party of
Men

Men held up their Cause aforesaid, against the good People of this Land, by an open War; and what Havock hath been made of the Lives and Estates of many a good Patriot during this Time, is yet to be lamented; and the Loss of your Relations, the Emptiness of your Purses exhausted in this War, the signal Deliverances which God hath given you, will not suffer you to forget what our Condition had been, if we had been given up into the Hands of these Men.

Inter-regnum.
1656.
January.

' These are the Men, Sir, this is the old Delinquent, that we have to do with in this Bill.

' In the Management of this War, we have had many Divisions and Subdivisions amongst ourselves:

' In the Church, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists; in the State, bad Commonwealth's-men; such as mercenary Soldiers, Lawyers, Fifth Monarchy-men; every one labouring for their own Interests; but none of all these are now in Question. But 'tis the old Enemy; Men that would bring in the Hierarchy again, and with it Popery, Persecution for Conscience Sake; bring in Tyranny over our Persons and Estates; who endeavoured to have made the Land desolate, rather than not have brought this to pass; brought in all Manner of Profaneness and Debauchery: I wish we do not forget what Manner of Men they were. We did all once agree against them, and I hope we shall do so again, so long as they retain their old Principles.

' I say, the worst in this Bill is, to make these Men pay an extraordinary Tax for the Support of the public Charge.

' Aye, but 'tis said they have compounded; many of them have, for their Delinquency; and they have had an Act of Oblivion; and are now, in Justice, to be looked upon as the rest of the Nation?

' That sure is not hard to answer. Their Composition was but for what they had done; Sure it was not for all they should do. The Pardon was but of Offences past; it was not like the Pope's Pardons, that are of all Sins committed, and to be Committed; so that if they be guilty of new Offences,

Inter. regnum.
1656.

January.

ces, it is just to subject them to new Penalties ; and they to be dealt with, as if they had made no Composition, nor had any such Pardon granted them. But then the greater Question is, What these Men have done, which may justly cancel their former Grants ; and how this comes to be a common Case ; if some of them have offended, must all suffer ?

‘ In Answer to this, I would premise two Things :

1. ‘ The Question is not about Confiscation of Life and Estate, which the former War subjected them to ; and which, without their Composition or Pardon, might have been inflicted ; that Offence was capital ; but it is only, whether they shall pay somewhat more to the public Charge, than those that have been of the other Party ?

2. ‘ Exception is propounded to those, who either have or shall give Evidence of their having forsaken their former Interest.

‘ The *Onus probandi* is put on their Side, and many have had the Fruit of this : His Highness and the Council, having had good Satisfaction concerning many of them, have discharged their Decimation ; and I suppose this Bill is not, or ought to be, to reach to these ; so that the Question will not be of every individual Man, but of such only as have not nor can give any Testimony of their having changed their Interests and Principles ; on the contrary, have given a just Ground of Suspicion that they do retain them.

‘ For those who have actually had a Hand in designing, contriving, acting, or abetting in the late Insurrection, and can be convicted thereof by Testimony, that is under another Consideration, and will not be pertinent to be spoke of under this Head.

‘ Then to answer that Question, What have they done ? It’s true, there was an Insurrection, and of some of the Party, *Wagstaffe, Wilmott, &c.* but are all therefore to be punished ? What hath the whole Party done ? This I would say, in general, that the old Delinquent Party have not only the same Intentions that they had, when they were in
open

open Arms, and notoriously manifested it to the Consciences of all Men who will consider it, but they do retain their old Principles, and still adhere to their former Interest (what that is I have spoke before ;) and have been all along hatching new Disturbances, to trouble the Peace of the State: And although the Testimonies do not extend to such a Proof as is necessary to a legal Conviction, yet so much is known of the Actions and Conversation of the whole Party, as may satisfy any indifferent Man, (especially a State, who ought rather to be too jealous than too secure) that they were generally involved in the late Design ; and ought, in Reason, to have the Charge laid upon them.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

January.

‘ To evince that, take a View of this Party ever since the Battle of *Worcester*. There you know their Hopes were broken ; and the Lives and Estates of that whole Party, in the Three Nations, subjected to your Power. What, Doth the Parliament apply themselves to heal and cement, and to take away the Seeds of Division? Hence it is, that not only Justice is done them all, but an Act of Grace is granted to them, and that by the Government. What do they meditate ? The Overthrow of those, whose Favour they were, by the Providence of God, compelled to seek ; for, from that very Day, until the late Insurrection broke forth, they have been in Agitation of ill Designs.

Notwithstanding the Arguments alledged, by the Secretary of State, in favour of this Bill for levying a Tax upon the Royalists ; yet there being a strong Suspicion in the House, that the real Tendency thereof was to support and increase the Authority of the Major-Generals, it met with great Opposition. These Officers had Bashaw’d it to so high a Degree, as to give Offence to the whole Nation : *Cromwell*, sensible of this and having already served his own Ends by them, the principal of which was to influence the Elections for this Parliament ; and beginning to be jealous of their growing Power, determined to gratify the Desires of the People by laying

Which Proposal
is rejected by the
Influence of
Cromwell's own
Relations.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

January.

them aside; and accordingly soon after, the Office and Jurisdiction of these Major-Generals were wholly abolished.—This accounts for the Opposition made to the Bill by *Cromwell's* own Family.

We find that his Son-in-Law, *Cleypole*, in the Debate thereupon, told the House, ‘That he, being young in Business, could only start the Game; and must leave those, who had more Experience, to follow the Chace: That therefore he should only say, That he had, formerly thought it necessary, in respect to the Condition in which the Nation had been, That the Major-Generals should be intrusted with the Authority which they had exercised, but, in the present State of Affairs, he conceived it inconsistent with the Laws of *England*, and Liberties of the People to continue of their Power any longer.’

Boteler, one of the Major-Generals, having spoke in favour of himself and his Brethren, Col. *Henry Cromwell*, the Protector's Nephew, took him up very smartly; saying, ‘He observed that many Gentlemen and, particularly the last, seem'd to think it just that, because some of the Cavaliers had done amiss, therefore all should be punished.—By the same Argument, says the Colonel, because some of the Major-Generals have acted unjustly and against Law, which I will undertake to prove, all of them deserve to be punished.’—Hereupon Major-General *Kelsey*, call'd *To Order*; and desired that those who had done wrong might be named. Col. *Cromwell*, with great Spirit and Resolution, seconded the Motion; and begg'd Leave of the House, that he might name the Offenders, and was supported, herein, by Mr. *James Ashe*. But this was over-ruled, as the *Journals* inform us, lest it should interrupt the main Business of the House: However, on the 28th of this Month, the Debate was resumed; and there appearing a general Resentment against the Bill, the Major-Generals Party would have dropp'd the Debate for the present; but this was over-ruled, by a Majority of 128 against 50. And, the next Day, a Motion for the second Reading of the Bill having passed in the Negative, by

121 against 78, it was resolved, by 124 against 88, that the same be rejected. Inter-regnum.
1656.

The Writer of these Letters (1) from whence we have extracted our Account of the foregoing Debate, and who was himself a Member of this Parliament, informs us, 'Than the rejecting of this Bill, which seems to have been effected principally by the Opposition made to it by some of the Protector's own Family, gave great Disgust to the Major-Generals, and the Behaviour of Col. Cromwell more particularly so.'—'Harry Cromwell, says he, being threatened, by the Major-Generals Party, that the Protector would and did take ill what he had spoke in the House, went directly to his Highness and stood to what he had said manfully and wisely: And to make it appear that he spoke not without Book, had his black Book and Papers ready to make good what he had asserted. His Highness answered him in Raillery, took a rich Scarlet Cloak from his Back, and Gloves from his Hands, and gave them to Harry, who strutted with his new Cloak and Gloves in the House, the next Day; to the great Satisfaction and Delight of some, and Trouble of others.'

February.

This public Affront thus put upon the Major-Generals, contributed, perhaps, not a little to their Opposition, soon after, to the Proposal for making of Cromwell King; and probably was an equal Inducement to some of the Cavalier Party in the House, to vote for his Advancement to the Crown.

But not to anticipate Matters too much, we shall return to the Journals.

February. This Month began with Debates upon Ways and Means to raise Money for the Spanish War; which were carried on, *de Die in Diem*, in a Grand Committee of the whole House, till the 7th, when the Report being made, it was resolved, 'That towards raising 400,000*l.* voted by the House, there be an Assessment, for three Months, throughout

A Grant of 400,000*l.* for carrying on the War with Spain.

(1) Mr. Vincent Cookin, one of the Members for Ireland. *Tburloe*, Vol. VI. p. 20; 27, 8.

Inter-regnum.
1656.

February.

throughout *England*, to commence the 25th of *March* next, after the Rate of 60,000 *l.* per *Month* : That 15,000 *l.* be raised, by Assessment, in *Scotland*, and 20,000 *l.* in *Ireland*, to be paid in before the 24th of *June* next.' Then it was farther resolved, 'That it be referred to the Grand Committee appointed to prepare a Bill in pursuance of the foregoing Votes, to consider of a Clause in the Preamble, or other Part thereof, for asserting the Rights of the People, *That no Monies ought to be levied without common Consent in Parliament.*'

The last Resolution seems to have been distasteful to the Protector and his Council; for we find that, on the 10th of this Month, the said Resolution being read again in the House, and the Question put, That Leave be given to the Members to speak again concerning this Vote, the House divided, when it was carried in the Affirmative, by 82 against 53. The Serjeant at Arms was then sent to summon all the Members in *Westminster-Hall*, to attend the Service of the House; and, after Debate, the Question being again put, That the Grand Committee appointed to prepare the Bill for the Assessment of 60,000 *l.* for three Months, and other Sums, towards the raising of 400,000 *l.* for carrying on the *Spanish War*, do prepare and bring in the same without inserting the Clause directed by the Vote of the 7th Instant in that Bill, it passed in the Affirmative, by 132 against 46. But, at the same Time, it was agreed that that Clause be put in a Bill for the Settlement of the ordinary Revenue: So that the Matter was not made much more pleasing to the Protector and his Council by this Alteration.

Mr. *Whitlocke*
receives the
Thanks of the
House.

Mr. *Whitlocke* having acted as Speaker, for some Time, during the Indisposition of Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, on the 18th of this Month the House voted him their Thanks for his great Services in that Station, and also in the Capacity of Ambassador to *Sweden*: They likewise ordered the Commissioners of

of the Treasury to pay him 500 *l.* due on account of that Embassy, and 2000 *l.* more as a Gratuity for his faithful Conduct therein.

Inter-regnum.
1652.

February.

Hitherto there is nothing else particular in the Affairs of this Month; but that, on the 19th, the Speaker acquainted the House, That the Lord Protector had invited all the Members to dine with him, at the *Banqueting-House* in *Whitehall*, the next Day, being the public Thanksgiving for the happy Deliverance of his Highness's Person from the late dangerous and bloody Design of Assassination, by the Discovery of *Syndercombe's* Plot. The Parliament accepted the Invitation; when, as our Authority expresses it (*u*), 'The Lord Protector gave them a most *Princely Entertainment*, attended with rare Music, both of Instruments and Voices.' This Compliment was so well relished by the House, that they were determined not to be behind-hand with his Highness in point of Complaisance. Accordingly.

The Parliament dine with the Lord Protector at *Whitehall*.

Feb. 23. Alderman *Pack*, one of the Representatives of the City of *London*, after taking Notice to the House of the unsettled State of the Nation at this Time, and the Discomposure of Men's Minds, with the ill Aspect these had upon foreign Princes, Trade and Commerce, moved that the Lord Protector might be desired to assume the Title of King, as the best known and most agreeable Kind of Government to the *English* People: He then presented to the Speaker a Paper, declaring it to be somewhat come to his Hand, tending to the Settlement of the Nation, and of Liberty and Property, which he desired might be received and read (*x*). This Motion occasioned

Alderman *Pack* proposes to make *Cromwell* King.

(*u*) *The Public Intelligencer*, No. 71, in which may be found a particular Narrative of *Syndercome's* Plot.

(*x*) This Alderman *Pack* was Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, 1655, and was then knighted by *Cromwell*. He is charged, by Historians, with embezzling the Charity-Money collected for the Relief of the poor Protestants in *Piedmont*; and also with being several Thousand Pounds in Arrear to the Excise, in which Office he was a Commissioner. It is added, That all these Sins were forgiven him by *Cromwell*,

Inter-regnum.
1657.

March.

sioned a great Debate; but, at length, it was resolved in the Affirmative, by a Majority of 144 Voices against 54, and the Paper was read accordingly, intituled, *The humble Address and Remonstrance of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth* (y).

The next Day the Debate was resumed; when it was resolved, on a Division of 100 against 44, that the said Remonstrance be read in Parts, beginning at the first Article after the Preamble. It was also ordered, 'That all the Members should constantly attend the Service of the House, and not depart without Leave: And the 25th of this Month was appointed to be set apart to seek the Lord for his Direction in this important Business.'

Which is agreed
to by the House.

March. The Address and Remonstrance above-mentioned, engaged the Attention of the Parliament almost every Day this Month. Many Additions and Alterations were made in it, but none of them significant enough to mention here, except that, on the 26th, they resolved to give it a new and more moderate Name, by styling it only *The humble Petition and Advice, &c.*

The next Day it was ordered that the Speaker, attended by all the Members, should present it to the Lord Protector, and at the same Time shew the Grounds and Reasons inducing them to offer it. Then a Committee was appointed to acquaint him,

'That well, in Consideration of his undertaking to make this bold Proposal to the House. *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 386. *Narrative of this Parliament*, before cited, p. 17.

Mr. Ludlow writes, 'That a Proposal of this Nature had been made before by Col. *Jephson*, but was laid aside upon the first Mention of it; and that *Cromwell*, to reward his good Intentions, sent him Ambassador to *Sweden*. — There is no Notice taken in the *Journals* of any Motion of this Kind but *Alderman Pack's*. However, *Jephson* did vote for *Cromwell's* being King, as appears by the foregoing List of the Parliament, p. 23, and was actually sent to *Sweden* in the Capacity Mr. Ludlow mentions.

(y) Mr. *Whitlocke* informs us, That this Address was intended to have been offered to the House by himself; and that he declined it, as not liking several Things contained therein; but Sir *Christopher Pack*, to gain Honour, presented it first to the House.

Memorials, p. 647

That the House having Occasion to wait upon him, on some important Affairs, they desired he would name a Time and Place for that Purpose. The 31st of this Month being appointed accordingly, at the *Banquetting-House, Whitehall*, the Speaker and the whole House went up thither with their Petition; where the Lord Protector, attended by the President of the Council, and other Officers of State, were assembled. After a learned Speech made to his Highness by Mr. Speaker, he presented, in the Name of the Parliament, the said humble Petition and Advice: Which was read by *Henry Scobell, Esq;* the Clerk: And that being done, his Highness gave Answer thereto to this Effect * * *.

Inter-regnum,
1657.

March.

Thus far the *Journals*:—But they leave us at a Loss as to the Result of this Meeting. The *Hiatus*, however, is, in some Measure, supplied by one of the *Diaries* of these Times (z), which informs us, 'That the Speaker took this Occasion to commend the Title and Office of a King, in this Nation, for several Reasons; as that a King first settled Christianity in this Island: That the Title had been long received and approved by our Ancestors, who, by Experience, found it to be consistent with their Liberties: That it was a Title best known to our Laws, most agreeable to our Constitution, and to the Temper of the *English* People: And that these Things he made evident, at large, by divers grave and weighty Arguments.

The Speaker presents to the Lord Protector the Parliament's Reasons for desiring him to assume the Title of King.

'Afterwards he proceeded to open the Sense of the Parliament upon the several other Particulars contained in that Writing, which they came to present to his Highness, in order to the Settlement of the Three Nations.'

'In Return to this the Lord Protector, after an engrossed Copy of the Petition had been presented to him, was pleased to deliver himself in a Speech, expressing very much of Piety, Gravity, and good Affection to the Parliament and People of these Nations.

Cromwell desires Time to seek God for Counsel thereupon.

'He observed that the Welfare, Peace, and Settlement of Three Nations, and all the rich Treasure of the

Inter-regnum.
1657.

March.

the best People of the World being involved therein, it ought to beget in him the greatest Reverence and Fear of God, that ever possessed any Man upon Earth; with several other Expressions intimating his Fear and Reverence before the Almighty, upon this so great and solemn an Occasion.

‘That among all the Burdens which God had laid upon him, he, to his Comfort, had found the good Hand of God assisting him, when he knew not which Way to stand under their Weight, but by looking up to his good Pleasure contained therein.

‘That, before he came to any Resolution, his Intent was, first, to seek God, who had been his Guide hitherto, to have an Answer put into his Heart.

‘That if he should enter upon such a Work as this without due Consideration, to please Humours that are of this World; without seeking such an Answer from God as might prove a Blessing to the Person used, and make up the noble, worthy, and honest Intentions of those that had prepared and effected the Work, it would seem to proceed from Lust and Arguments of Self; and that, should his Motives be such, the Issue might prove sad to them, and the Three Nations, who, he believed, intended well in this Business; and had none but honest and sincere Ends therein, as the Glory of God, the Good of the People, and the Rights of these Nations.

‘That therefore, since they had made such a Progress in the Work, he desired some short Time to ask Counsel of God and his own Heart: And he hoped that neither the Humours of any weak or unwise People, nor the Desires of any who might have a Lusting after Things that were not good, should steer him to any other Answer but what might be ingenuous, and for the Good of those that he and they served, and were made to serve. And concluded, That as the Thing well deserved the utmost Deliberation, so he should think himself bound to give as speedy an Answer as he could.’

These

‘ These, says our *Journalist*, are only some short Heads of what was much more copiously and elegantly spoken, by his Highness, to the Parliament, with that Majesty and Authority, which appeared most eminent in all his public Actions ; in the Repetition whereof he had only to crave Pardon, lest he had been injurious to the Dignity of so wise and so serene a Person.’

Inter. regnum.

1657.

April.

Observing only, from the Style of the foregoing Extracts, That Tyrants never want Flatterers, we return to the *Journals* of the House, which inform us, That

April 3. The Protector sent a Letter to the Speaker, desiring the House to appoint a Committee to attend him that Day at *Whitehall* ; which being done accordingly, on the next the Lord-Commissioner *Whitelocke* reported from them, That they had waited on his Highness, according to the Order of the House, and that he expressed himself to the Committee to this Effect * * * *.

Here is another *Hiatus* in the *Journals* ; the more to be regretted, since we have it not in our Power to supply the Deficiency from any of the Contemporary Authorities : And we can only suppose, that the Protector gave the Committee some Reasons against their Offer of making him King ; and desired them to carry their Petition and Advice back to the House for Amendment ; because the next Day they fell into Debate on this Matter ; and a Question being proposed, That this House doth adhere to their humble Petition and Advice, presented to his Highness the Lord Protector, it was resolved in the Affirmative, by a Majority of 78 against 65 : But at the same Time it was ordered, ‘ That the present Debate should be adjourned to their next Meeting, to be entered on the first Business, and nothing else to intervene. Accordingly,

On the 7th, the Debate was renewed in the House ; when we find that they still adhered to their last

Inter-regnum,
1657.

April.

The House appointed a Committee to wait on him for his Answer;

last Vote, and appointed another, and a more numerous, Committee to attend the Lord Protector with the following Resolution: 'That the Parliament having lately presented their humble Petition and Advice to his Highness, whereunto they had not as yet received Satisfaction; and the Matters contained in that Petition and Advice being agreed upon by the Great Council and Representative of the Three Nations; and which, in their Judgments, were most conducing to the Good of the People thereof, both in their Spiritual and Civil Concernments; they therefore thought fit to adhere thereto, and to put his Highness in Mind of the great Obligation which rested upon him, in respect of that Advice; and again to desire him to give his Assent thereunto.'

But he desires further Time, and raises many Objections.

The next Day the Parliament, in a Body, attended the Lord Protector in the *Banqueting-House* at *Whitehall*, when the Speaker presented to him the foregoing Resolution. His Answer on that Occasion is not entered in the *Journals*; but the last cited Authority (a) informs us, That his Highness was pleased to make a Return by a Speech, with his wonted Piety, Wisdom, and Moderation, to the following Effect:

'That no Man could put a greater Value than he did; and always should do, upon the Desires and Advice of the Parliament; readily acknowledging, that it was the Advice of the Parliament of these Three Nations.

'That he looked upon the Things advised to, in the general Notion of them, as tending to the Settlement of the chiefest Things that could fall into the Hearts of Men to desire or endeavour after; and this at such a Time, when the Nation was big with Expectation of any Thing that might add to their better Being; and therefore that he must needs put a very high Esteem upon, and have a very reverend Opinion of, any Thing that came from them; and that

(a) *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 356.

that so he hath had of that Instrument presented to him, as he had already expressed himself; and that what he expressed had been from an honest Heart, toward the Parliament and Public, which (he said) he spake not to compliment them, being past all Consideration of that Kind, seeing both himself and the Parliament must be real now, if ever.

‘ That in this Business they laid a Burden upon a Man conscious of his own Infirmities and Disabilities; and therefore he hoped that it would be no Evil in him to measure their Advice and his own Infirmities, seeing these would have some Influence upon Conscience; Conscience in him that receives Talents, to know how he might answer the Trust of them: That he hath had, and still hath, such a Conscience; and therefore that when he thought he had had an Opportunity, lately, to make an Answer, he made that Answer; being a Person that had been before, and then, and since, lifting up his Heart to God, to know what might be his Duty at such a Time as this, and upon such an Occasion and Trial as this was to him.

‘ That he knew great Place, great Authority, to be a great Burden, and that he knew a Man who was convinced, in his Conscience, that nothing less would enable him to the Discharge of it, than Assistance from above; and that it concerned such a Person, so convinced and so persuaded, to be right with the Lord in such an Undertaking. And that if he undertook any Thing not in Faith, he might serve them in his own Unbelief, and so be the unprofitablest Servant that ever a People or a Nation had.

‘ That he desired Leave therefore to ask Counsel, being ready to render a Reason of his own Apprehensions, which, haply, might be overswayed by better Apprehensions.

‘ That as to the Point of Liberty, he acknowledged they had made Provision for it, both Spiritual and Civil; the greatest Provision that ever was made.

That

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

‘ That himself desired Liberty to vent his own Doubts, and his own Fears and Scruples, though haply, in such Cases, as these were, the World had judged that a Man’s Conscience ought to know no Scruple ; but that his did ; and that he durst not dissemble ; and therefore they who were knowing in the Ground of their own Actions, would best be able to measure Advice to others.

‘ That there were many Things in that Instrument, besides that one of the Name and Title of *King*, which required much Information as to his Judgment ; and that it was they, and none but they, that could capacitate him to receive Satisfaction in them : That otherwise he must say, He was not informed, and so not acted, as he knew they intended he should be, and as every Man in the Nation should be.

‘ That he could not tell what other Return to make to them than this, That he was ready to give them a Reason if they would capacitate him to give it, and themselves to receive it, and to do that in the other Things, if they would inform him a little more particularly than the Vote passed Yesterday, and now read to him : And that he hoped, when he understood the Grounds of those Things, the whole being not so much for their Good and his own, as for the Good of the Nation, there would be no Doubt but that they might, even in those Particulars, find out such Things as might answer their Duty, his own, and all, their Duties, to those whom they both served.

‘ That this was what, with a great deal of Affection, Honour, and Respect, he offered then unto them.’

A Committee appointed to receive his Scruples.

On the 9th, the Speaker having reported the Transactions of the foregoing Day, it was resolved, ‘ That a Committee be appointed to wait on the Lord Protector, and to receive from his Highness his Doubts and Scruples touching any of the Particulars contained in the humble Petition and Advice

formerly presented; and, in Answer thereunto, to offer to his Highness Reasons for his Satisfaction, and for the Maintenance of the Resolutions of the House: And such Particulars as they could not satisfy his Highness in; to report to the Parliament.

Inter-regnum
1657.
April.

In pursuance of this Order the Committee waited on the Lord Protector, but were put off, from Day to Day, as the *Journals* inform us, on account of an Indisposition of Health in his Highness, and by reason of a new Plot just then discovered against him (c); so that it was not till the 16th that they were admitted to an Audience. The principal Speakers on this Occasion were the two Chief Justices, *Glynne* and *St. John*, Mr. *Whitlock*, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, Mr. *Lisle* and Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Commissioners of the Great Seal, Lord *Broughill*, Mr. *Lenthall*, Master of the Rolls, Sir *Charles Wolseley*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, and Col. *Phillip Jones*.

VOL. XXI.

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The

(c) This was an intended Insurrection of the *Fifth Monarchy-Men*, headed by Major-General *Harrison*, Colonel *Rich*, Major *Danvers*, and Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, who were taken into Custody of the Sergeant at Arms; and for the Discovery of this Plot, Secretary *Thurloe* received the Parliament's Thanks.

'This new Sect of Enthusiasts called themselves *The Remnant who had waited for the blessed Appearance and Hope*. The Device of their Standard, which was brought into the House by the Secretary, was a Lion Couchant, gules, in a Field argent; with this Motto, *Who shall rouse him up?* Gen. xlix. 9. One of the Persons that had been apprehended on this Occasion, being asked by the Speaker, What was meant by this Lion? answered, "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah." This Standard they stiled *The Banner that God had given to his poor scattered People*: They invited all of their Opinion to gather together into one, and to be united in the Work; intending, with Sword in Hand, according to their Light and Apprehension of Things, (as they declared in Print) to give their Judgment, in respect of Power, Laws, Government, Exercise of Magistracy, Administration of Justice, Rights and Privileges.

'And how they intended to do this, they set forth in these several Particulars, viz.

1. 'By executing Vengeance upon the Beast and the false Prophet, the Kings of the Earth and their Armies, and all the Inhabitants and Powers of *Babylon*; which Name they fastened upon all Powers beside their own.

2. 'By placing the Supreme Legislative Power in *Christ*.

3. 'By erecting a *Sanhedrim*, (as they called it) or a Supreme Council of Men, to be chosen by themselves, to be the Representative of the whole Body of the Saints, on the Behalf of *Christ*, whose Day they

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

Their Debate
with the Lord
Protector there-
upon.

The Arguments offered by this Committee, with the Protector's Answers, were printed at this Time; they were also reprinted in *April*, 1660, upon the then approaching Restitution of Monarchy, and again in 1680 and 1742, but all extremely incorrect. The *Journals*, of the 15th of this Month, help us to account for this unlucky Circumstance, by informing us, That the Committee's Notes not being perfectly transcribed, they prayed further Time for that Purpose. We shall therefore endeavour to supply this Deficiency in the best Manner we are able; and where any of *Cromwell's* Speeches, on this Occasion, are entered in the *Journals*, or the authentic *Diaries* of the Times, give them from those Authorities.

Having premised thus much, we proceed to the Matter of the Debate, which was opened by Mr. *Whitlocks*, Chairman of the Committee, to this Effect:

May it please your Highness,

Mr. *Whitlocke*.

• I understand that, by Order of the Parliament, this Committee are tied up to receive only what your Highness shall be pleased to offer, as to your Doubts or Scruples upon this Paper: The very Words of the Order are, *That the Committee have Power to attend your Highness, to receive from your Highness your Doubts and Scruples touching any of the Particulars contained in the humble Petition and Advice, formerly presented; and, in Answer thereunto, to offer*

to they said, was now come; and therefore that they were to act as Princes under *Christ*, and to govern according to their Light.

*Commons Journals. Publick Intelligencer, No. 79.
Mercurius Politicus, No. 403.*

There are also in the 5th and 6th Volumes of *Tburloe's State Papers*, and in *Nicholls's Collection of Letters, &c. addressed to Oliver Cromwell*, many Papers and Examinations relating to this Plot, and the Principles of this wild Sect, to whom Mr. *Butler* seems to allude in these Lines,

*Some were for setting up a King,
But all the rest for no such Thing,
Unless King Jesus.*

Hudibras, published by Dr. Grey, Vol. II. p. 244.

to your Highness Reasons for your Satisfaction, and for the Maintenance of the Resolutions of the House; and such Particulars as we cannot satisfy your Highness in, that we may report the same to the Parliament.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

‘Your Highness is pleased to mention the Government, as it now is; and seem, to some of our Apprehensions, as if you made that an Objection, *If the Government be well, why do you change it?* If that be intended by your Highness as an Objection in the general, I suppose the Committee will give you Satisfaction.’

The Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* having offered thus much, the Protector said,

‘He thought all of them met with a very good Lord Protector, Inclination to come to some Issue in that grand Affair; and he could assure them he had all the Reason and Argument in the World to move him to it, and was very ready to be guided by them in the Way of Proceeding; only he confessed that, according to his own Thoughts in preparing for such a Work as this, he had formed this Notion of it to himself: That having met them twice, at the Committee first, and returned them that Answer that he gave them then, and the House a second Time, he did perceive, that the Favour and Indulgence the House shewed him in that, was, that he might receive Satisfaction: That he knew they might have been positive in the Thing, and said, They had done enough, if they had only made such an Address to him: That they might have insisted, That by only offering it, he could plainly see his Satisfaction was aimed at: That he, really and sincerely, thought so; and that, truly, he thought there was one Clause in the Paper that did a little warrant this Notion, *To offer such Reasons for his Satisfaction, and for the Maintenance of the Resolutions of the House.*

‘That it was true, the Occasion of all this was the Answer he had made: That this occasioned a Committee to come thither, in order to his Satis-

Inter-regnum.
1657.
April.

faction ; and that if they would draw out his Reasons from him, he would offer them ; but he doubted, on his Part, if they should proceed that Way, it would put him a little out of the Method of his own Thoughts ; and it being mutual Satisfaction that was endeavoured, if they would do him the Favour, it would more agree with his Method, to leave them, first, to consider their own Thoughts of it together.

The Protector having paused here, the Lord Commissioner thought it proper to express himself, briefly, after this Manner :

Mr. Whitlocke.

‘ The Committee that are commanded by the Parliament, and are here present to wait upon your Highness, I do suppose, cannot undertake to give the Reasons of the Parliament for what they have done ; but any Gentleman here can give his own particular Opinion, for your Highness’s Satisfaction ; and if you will be pleased to go in the Way which you have proposed, and, either in general or in particular, to require Satisfaction from the Committee, I suppose we shall be ready to do the best we can to give it you.’

The Protector took the Word, and said,

Lord Protector.

‘ I think if this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you, but what the Parliament hath dictated to you ; yet I think it is clearly expressed, That the Parliament intends Satisfaction ; then is it as clear, That there must be Reasons and Arguments that have Light and Conviction in them, in order for Satisfaction.

‘ I speak for myself herein ; I hope you will think no otherwise : I say, it doth appear so to me, That you have the Liberty of your own Reasons : I think, if I should cite any of them, I cannot call this the Reason of the Parliament. In Parliamentary Determinations and Conclusions, by Votes of the several Particulars of the Government, that Reason is dilated and diffused, and every Man hath a Share of it ; and therefore, when they have deter-

min’d

min'd such a Thing, certainly it was Reason that led them up into it. I do very respectfully represent to you, That I have a general Dissatisfaction to the Thing; and I desire that I may be informed in the Grounds that led you, who, I presume, are all Persons well satisfied with the Thing, and every Part of it; and if you will not be pleased to think that fit, I will not farther urge it upon you: To proceed that Way will be a Favour to me; otherwise, I shall deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the Method of my own Conceptions: And then I shall beg that I may have an Hour's Deliberation, and that we may meet again in the Afternoon.'

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

Here the Lord Chief Justice *St. John* acquainted the Lord Protector, 'That the Parliament had sent them to wait upon his Highness, to give him any Satisfaction that their Abilities could suggest: That the whole Paper consisted of many Heads: And that if his Highness intended Satisfaction, the Propositions being general, they could give but general Satisfaction, for which they were ready.' The Protector hereupon went on: 'If you will please to give me Leave, I do agree the Thing is general as it falls under the Notion of a Settlement: That's a General that consists of many Particulars; and truly, if you call it by the Title it bears, there it is general; it is Advice, Desires and Advice: And, the Truth is, that which I have made my Objection to, is but one Thing as yet; only the last Time I had the Honour to meet the Parliament, I did offer to them, That they would put me into a Condition to receive Satisfaction to the Particulars: No Question, I might easily offer something particular for Debate, if I thought that would answer the End; for, truly, I know my End and yours is the same; that is, to bring Things to an Issue one Way or other, that we may know where we are; that we may attain that general End, which is a Settlement: The End is in us both; and I durst contend with any one Person in the World, That it is not more in his Heart than in mine. I could go to some Particulars to ask a Question, or ask a

Lord Chief Justice *St. John*.

Lord Protector.

Inter-regnum.

1577

April.

Reason of the Alteration, which would well enough let you into the Business; yet I say it doth not answer me. I confess I did not so strictly examine that Order of Reference, or whether I read it or not, I cannot tell; if you have it that Way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an Objection as may occasion some Answer to it, though perhaps I shall object weakly enough. I shall very freely submit to you.

Lord Chief Justice *St. John*
and Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*.

The Lord Chief Justice *St. John* and the Lord Commissioner *Fiennes*, owning, here, to the Protector, 'That they found they were impower'd to offer any Reasons that they thought fit, either for the Satisfaction of his Highness, or Maintenance of what the Parliament had given him their Advice in; and that they thought they were rather to offer to his Highness the Reasons of the Parliament, if his Highness's Dissatisfaction was to the Alteration of Government in general, or in particular;' the Lord Protector told them, 'He was very ready to say, he had no Dissatisfaction: That it had pleased the Parliament to find out a Way, though it were of Alteration, to bring these Nations into a good Settlement; and that, perhaps, they might have judged the Settlement, we were in, was not so much for the great End of Government, the Liberty and Good of the Nations and the Preservation of all those Honest Interests that had been engaged in that Cause: he said, 'He had no Exception in the general, that the Parliament had thought fit to take into their Consideration a new Settlement, or Government; but that having done it as they had, and made him so far interested as to make such an Overture to him, he should be very glad if they were pleased to let him know their Reason for making the Alteration such as it was: That though he could not presume that he had any thing to offer to them that might convince them; yet, if they would take it in good Part, he should offer somewhat as to every Particular: That as to the first Particular, he was clear, as to the Ground of it, being so put to him as it had been: That he thought some of the Grounds,

upon which it was done, would very well lead him into such Objections or Doubts as he might offer, and would be a very great Help to him therein; and that if they would have him state this, that, or the other Doubt that might arise methodically, he should do it.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

Hereupon the Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* began Mr. *Whitlocke*. the Argument in this Manner: 'I am very much assured, that all this Company is come with the same Affection, and faithful Respect to the publick Settlement, as your Highness hath been pleased to express. For my Part, I do, with a great deal of Clearness and Faithfulness, and, in my particular Apprehension, conceive that the Method, which your Highness mentioned to proceed in, we may answer for; and if any Gentleman be of another Opinion, let him be pleased to correct me in it.

The Parliament taking Consideration of the present Government, and the Instrument that doth establish it, seem to be of Opinion that it was very fit there should be some Course taken for a Settlement in the Government of the Nation, by the Supreme Legislative Power: Your Highness and the Parliament concurring together, they found the Instrument of Government, in the Original and Foundation of it, to require a Settlement by the Supreme Legislative Power, in regard the Original of the other, as I apprehended by some Gentlemen's Debates upon it, might be an Occasion of some Doubts, and of less Stability, if it were left to continue upon the same Foundation as it now is.

'That it will not be so clear a Settlement and Foundation for the Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, as if we came to a Settlement by the Supreme Legislative Power; upon that Ground, I say, it was taken into Consideration; and a Settlement brought to Effect, upon very solemn, full, and candid Debates, among themselves in Parliament,

'Their Intentions, I suppose, were only these: To provide for the Peace and Safety of the Nations hereafter; to provide for the Rights and Liberties, both Spiritual and Civil, of the People of these Nations:

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

And, in order to make the best Provision they could for these great Concernments of the People, the Petition and Advice, which they have humbly presented to your Highness, was brought to a Determination by them.

‘ As for that Particular which your Highness did formerly intimate, when the Parliament did attend upon you, and the Committee of the Parliament since, and that which you are now pleased to intimate, concerning the Title, I do humbly apprehend the Grounds thereof to be these :

‘ The Foundation of the Title of *Protector* being not known by the Law, but being a new Title, it was thought that the Title which was known by the Law of *England* for many Ages, many Hundreds of Years together received, the Law fitted to it, and that to the Law, might be of more Certainty, clearer Establishment, and more conformable to the Laws of the Nation ; that this Title, I say, should be that of *King*, rather than that other of *Protector*.

‘ There is very much as to the Essence of the Business, as some Gentlemen did apprehend, that the Title should be a known Title ; that which hath been, in all these Times and Ages, received ; that which every particular Person hath Occasion to know, and his Rights applied to it : The general Rights of the People, and their Liberties, have an Application likewise, to that Name ; which Application cannot be so clear and certain to so new a Title as that of *Protector*.

‘ I have heard some Gentlemen argue, that the Title of *Protector* is grounded only upon the Original and Foundation as it now stands ; but the Title of *King*, besides the Constitutions to which it shall be made to relate, will likewise have a Foundation upon the old and known Laws of the Nation : So that there will be both the present Constitution, and likewise the ancient Foundation of the Laws of *England*, to be the Basis of the Title of *King* :

‘ What Inconveniencies Changes of this Nature may bring with them, can hardly, in every Particular, be foreseen ; but it is imagined that there will be many

many, which possibly we may not be able before-
 hand to comprehend : Therefore there seems to be
 more of Certainty and Stability, and of the Supreme
 Authority and Civil Sanction, upon the Title of
King, than upon the other of *Protector* : This I
 humbly apprehend to be one Reason concerning
 both the Establishment of the whole *Petition* and *Ad-
 vice*, and also that Particular, which I think is the
 first Part of it, to which your Highness seemed to
 object.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

The Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* was seconded
 herein by Mr. *Lenthall*, Master of the Rolls (a).

May it please your Highness,

' I am very glad there is such a Latitude that we
 may shew ourselves here : I know the Parliament
 intends to give your Highness all the Satisfaction that
 may be : And truly, I say, upon the first Head,
 which your Highness is pleased to call a Title, as if
 it were a bare Title, I must humbly crave Pardon
 if I do not think it, neither did the House think it
 so ; but it carries more in it of Weight than a meer
 Title : For, upon due Consideration, you shall find,
 that the whole Body of the Law is carried upon this
 Wheel ; it is not a Thing that stands on the Top
 meerly, but runs through the whole Life and Veins
 of the Law : Look upon all our Laws ever since we
 had Laws ; look upon all the Constitution, still there
 is such an Interest, not of the Title, but of the
 Name of *King*. Besides, the Title, that's not the
 Thing ; for the Title you may rather tie to the Per-
 son, than to the Thing ; but the Word *King* doth
 signify the Person.

Mr. Lenthall,

' Now, Sir, we see, in all the Ways of our Pro-
 ceedings, in the maintaining of the Rights, Proper-
 ties and Interests of the People, and of the Preroga-
 tive of the Chief Magistrate, that the very Office
 carries

(a) Speaker of the House of Commons in February, 1648 ; when
 it was resolv'd, ' That it hath been found by Experience, that the
 Office of a *King* in this Nation, and to have the Power thereof in any
 Single Person, is unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous to the
 Liberty, Safety, and public Interest of the People of this Nation ; and
 therefore ought to be abolished.'

See our 18th vol. p. 554.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

carries on the Business, and not the Title; and yet it must be such a Title too as implies the Office, and makes the Office suitable to the Law: It's the Office that doth signify the Person, not the Person the Office. I shall crave your Highness's Pardon, if I spake any Thing amiss. We see that the very Office carries it on, and not the Person, yet that Office must have a Suitableness. I have observed all along, that we have had many Debates that have arisen in this Nation about the Thing; but the Ground and Reason why they have adhered to this Title, was for the Maintenance of their Liberties, not for the Change of the Office.

'I must confess, I do not see that the other Title of *Protector* will do the same Thing, that having no further Latitude, nor Extent, but the very Instrument; it goes no further, for the very Instrument is the Foundation of it, and it can find no other Original; we have had those Names heretofore, yet never grounded upon the Thing itself, but grounded upon the Office of a *King*. The *Protector* had no Office or Duty to perform, but what was under the Office and Duty of a *King*: It's very true, it is not so now, certainly, for you have now a Title upon that Foundation which is the Instrument, and it can reach no further: It is a Title that I cannot see, I must confess, but that we may have, under it a good Magistrate and good Officers; but it may extend whither it will; it hath no Limit at all; and if the Chief Magistrate should prove otherwise than good, you have no Limits to it by any Rule of Law that I understand: If you please, give me Leave to tell you, that the very Instrument does give a Foundation to the Title of *Protector*, I am sure, to cross, if he please, the most Fundamental Points of the Law.

'There was a Time, when a Prince of this Nation (*b*), a very late Time too, would change a Name; and it was a very slender Change, for it was but from that of *King of England* to *King of Great-Britain*; and this was presented to the Parliament.

It

(*b*) King James I. See the Proceedings on this Affair, *sub Anno* 1604.

It was debated many Days, and it was resolved there, and settled, That they could not change it; there was so much Hazard in that Change, they knew not but that all their Rights and Liberties might be thereby altered; and when the King saw he could not obtain it of the House, he declared by Proclamation, That he never intended to take any Name upon him that should raise any Doubt as to the Liberties and Privileges of Parliament; and caused that Proclamation to be very cunningly printed, and put among the Statutes, though indeed it was none of them: but because there was Danger, he laid it down willingly; only, says he, your Divines, in the Pulpit, shall pray for me by the Title of *King of Great Britain*, and Ambassadors shall make their Address by that Name; but the Name, in your Laws, I will not alter.

'In the Parliament of 1653, there was a Question whether they should not alter the Name of Parliament (c), and call it, *The Representative of the People*? But the whole House went upon this Ground, That by changing the Name of Parliament to a Representative, they did not know how it might change the very Course, Ground, and Reason of Parliaments; there is a great Deal of Importance in the very Name: I remember a very honourable Person was then very earnest for it; I mean, for having his Name changed, and he shew'd many Reasons for it: but hearing the Debates and Reasons against it, he sat down, and was satisfied; I think I may name him, it was my Lord Ireton, who said, He was satisfied it was not fit to be done at that Time.

'It was a famous Story in every Man's Mouth heretofore, when there was but little Intention to change the Law; I say, it was a general Resolution given, by the Lords, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare*: It's doubted, yea conceived, impossible, to annex the Laws and the Title of *Protector* together: This I must say, we come now with an Intention for a perfect Settlement, such as may give Safety to the Nation,

(c) In our Twentieth Volume, p. 182.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

tion, to your Person, and to the People: for indeed, Sir, they are very jealous of their Laws and Liberties, and have been so in all Ages; and tho' there may be no Intention to do such a Thing, yet if you have a Doubt, it's better and more safe for the Chief Magistrate to keep to that which hath no Doubt.

'The Parliament putting their own Interests and Regard for you together, and giving you this Advice, this is *Vox Populi*; for it is the Voice of Three Nations in one Parliament. Upon Public Interest, the chief Thing is the Safety of the People; to that Safety, your Will, your Judgment, nay, give me Leave to tell you, your Conscience is bound; for it is the principal End of Government and Governors: This is presented to you by Three Nations, by the Parliament; altho' you may make your Hesitations, yet such a Thing is of great Weight and Consequence. By the Laws, I can say, in all Generations, this is mine, and this is the Prince's; and the Prince cannot do me Wrong, nor the Council cannot do me Wrong, &c. Therefore I think you may safely, and I hope you will, agree to this Particular, as we have presented it: I dare not say, that your Highness, as it comes in a way of *Advice* from the Parliament, ought to do so.'

Lord Protector.

Mr. *Lenthall* having ended, the Lord Protector told the Committee, 'That he could not deny but the Things that had been spoken, had been urged with great Weight; and that it was not fit for him to ask any of them if they had a Mind to speak farther to it; but if such had been their Pleasure, that truly then he thought it would have made him, according to the Method and Way he had conceived to himself, the more prepared to have returned some Answer: He was sure the Business required it from any Man in the World, much more from him, to make serious and true Answers; he meant such as were not feigned in his own Thoughts, but such wherein he expressed the Truth and Honesty of his Heart;

Heart : In short, That he hoped, when he had heard them so far as it was their Pleasure to speak to that Head, he should have been in a Condition that Afternoon, if it had not been a Trouble to them, to have returned his Answer upon a little Consideration with himself ; but that seeing they had not thought it convenient to proceed that Way, truly he thought he might very well say, That he had need to have a little Time to resolve what Answer to return, lest their Debate should end, on his Part, with a very vain Discourse, and with Lightness : And therefore, if they thought to proceed farther, and to speak to these Things, he should have made his own short Animadversions on the whole that Afternoon, and returned some short Reply ; and this would have ushered him into the Way, not only to have given the best Answer he could, but to have made his own Objections.'

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

The Protector having, in this Manner, given Intimation of his Readiness to hear any farther Arguments, the Chief Justice *Glynne* began thus :

' Since it is your Highness's Pleasure that it should be spoken to now, altogether, by those that have any Thing to say, I think it the Intent of the Committee, and the Parliament, to give your Highness Satisfaction in all Particulars, both as to Substance and Circumstance. I confess I waited for Objections from your Highness, that being the principal Scope of the Order.

Lord Chief Justice
Glynne.

' Truly, my Lord, I stand up with no Confidence that I can add any Thing to what hath been said ; but because it pleases your Highness to do us the great Favour to put us to Particulars, I think the Question with you is but singly thus : *I am already Protector, and I am by that Office put at the Head of the Government, whereby I meet the Parliament now ; you desire me to take upon me the Office of King, Why do ye so ?* That which we are to speak here, is no other but that which we can understand was the Sense of the Parliament, in Justification of what they have done : I shall not speak any Thing

The Parliamentary HISTORY

Thing of the Government itself, but to this Particular.

‘I think the Office of a *King* is a lawful Office, and the Title too, approved of by the Word of God; that’s plain. It is plain likewise, that it is an Office that hath been exercised in this Nation from the Time it hath been a Nation; and I think it is as true, that there never was any Quarrel with the Office, but the Mal-Administration, that I can remember; I mean, ill Government. Oftentimes Kings have been blamed, and very justly, for their ill Government; but we do not read that there was any Challenge by the Parliament, that this Government we desire should be discharged: If that be true, it is to me a strange Ground, having passed the Scrutiny of so many Parliaments where they did debate *de Re*, that in all these Debates, they did not charge it upon the Nations that the Office of a *King* was a Burthen in its own Nature; and this too, when Parliaments have had Opportunity to have changed the Government.

‘The Name of *King* is a Name known by the Law, and the Parliament doth desire that your Highness would assume that Title. These are the Grounds why the Parliament make it their humble Advice and Request to your Highness, that you would be pleased to assume that Title; and I think there is something more in it: You are now *Lord Protector* of the Three Nations by the Instrument; and there is a Clause in this Constitution, that you should govern according to Law; and your Highness is sworn to that Government. The Parliament doth apprehend, that it is almost impossible for your Highness to answer the Expectation of the People to be governed by the Laws; because you are so tied up, that neither can they rationally call for it, nor you conscientiously do it; and so neither is the *Lord Protector*, nor the People, upon any sure Establishment: For here stands the Case: A *King* hath run through so many Ages in this Nation, and hath governed the Nation by that Title and Style, that it is known to the Law; for the

the Law of the Nation is no otherwise than what hath been a Custom to be practised, and is approved by the People to be good; that's the Law; and nothing else, excepting Acts of Parliament: And now they have been governed by that Title, and by that Minister, and by that Office, if so be your Highness should do any Act, and one should come and say, *My Lord Protector, you are sworn to govern by the Law, and yet do thus and thus, as Lord Protector; why, the King could not have done so! Aye, (say you) but I am not King, I am not bound to do as the King. I am Lord Protector; shew me, that the Law doth require me to do it as Protector; if I have not acted as Protector, shew we where that Law is:* Why, you put every one to a Stumble in that Case: This is one Thing that, I humbly conceive, did stick with the Parliament, as to that Particular.

'Another Thing is this, you are *Protector*; which is a new Office not known to the Law, and made out of Doors: You are called upon, that you would be pleased to accept the Office of a *King*; this is, by the whole People: It's the first Government that, since these Troubles, hath been tendered by a general and Universal Consent of the People. If any should find Fault with them, and say, *Why, how came you to make Governments in this Case?* Why, the Answer is, *We are a Parliament, and have your Suffrage; you have ever trusted us with all your Votes, and we will justify it: But besides, we have not done it neither; we have but settled it upon the old Foundations.*

'Then as for Regal Government; however, some may pretend that a *King's* Prerogative is so large that we know it not, but is unbounded; the Parliament are not of that Opinion. The *King's* Prerogative is known by Law; if he should extend it beyond his Duty, that's the Evil of the Man: But in *Westminster-Hall*, the *King's* Prerogative was under the Courts of Justice; and was bounded as well as any Acre of Land, or any Thing a Man hath; as much as any Controversy between Party and Party: And therefore the Office being lawful in its Nature,

known

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

known to the Nation, certain in itself, and confined and regulated by the Law, and the other Office being not so, that was a sufficient Reason why the Parliament did so much insist upon this Office and Title, not as Circumstantial, but as Essential; yea, it is the Head from whence all the Nerves and Sinews of the Government do proceed, as was well said by the Master of the Rolls: If we put a new Head, it's a Question whether those Nerves and Sinews will grow, and be nourished and strengthened with that Head.

‘ I had something in my Thoughts which I had forgot; something of an Objection. ‘ Why are we so pertinacious, or insist so much upon this Title? ‘ May we not apply all the Powers and Authorities unto the Office of *Protector*, and then we shall give Satisfaction?’ I must needs say, He that makes this Objection, makes it merely to a Name. If any Man shall say, I am content the *Protector* shall have the Office, but not the Name, I think this Man is very strait laced: Then he puts it merely upon the Word; and truly, if there be no more in it, if there be nothing but that Word, you have, in Balance against it the Desires of the Parliament: I beseech you, do not break with the Parliament for a Word.

‘ Another Objection is, We have been under the *Protector*, and the Judges have taken their Office under that Government; and the Judges have taken their Measures by the Authority of the King; and have taken it to be the same with that of King, and so go on. I confess that the Judges have gone very far that Way, and I shall not speak my own Opinion of the Matter here; but yet it is very well known, that there hath been Variety of Opinions and Judgments in this Case, even from those that have been Judges of the Nation; and I do not take the People to be upon a very good Establishment, when Doubts arise in those that should have most Knowledge. I would never make a Doubt that tends to the shaking of Foundations, if I could avoid it. The taking of this Office will avoid a Doubt;

Doubt; the continuing of the other Office may be more uncertain. I would never make a Doubt where it may be clear; perhaps the taking of the other would reduce Men to Satisfaction; there is but a Perhaps in the one, and a Certainty in the other.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

‘ The Chief Justice was seconded in this Argument by Sir *Charles Wolseley*, to this Effect :

‘ Not only we that are here, but many honest Hearts in *England*, rejoice to see this Day, wherein your Highness and the Parliament are, with so much Nearness and Affection, debating the Settlement of the Nation: One Reason why your Highness should take this Title offered you by the Parliament, is, because, as you stand in relation to the old Government, you are obliged to the Law, yet have not the Advantage of the Law; which the Chief Magistrate ought to have. The Law knows not a *Protector*, and requires no Obedience from the People to him. The Parliament desires to settle one so, that the People may know your Duty to them, and they their Duty to you. The Parliament finds the Minds of the People of these Nations much set upon this Office and Title: God hath by his Providence, put a general Desire of it into the Nation; and they think, in Things not unlawful, they ought to hearken, and to be much inclined by the Desires of them that sent them; and in such Things as are for their Good, as this is, to be much proked thereby to the doing of them.

‘ Truly, Sir, it hath been much in the Thoughts of the Parliament, that the Reason why Things of late have been so unsettled, throughout, in these Nations, hath been, because that to the Body of this People there hath not been a Legal Head: The Well-being of the Head is not more necessary to the wholesome Constitution of the Body Natural, than a right Head is necessary to the Body Politic.

‘ I must humbly tell your Highness, This Nation hath ever been a Lover of Monarchy, and of Monarchy under the Title of a *King*: The Name and Office hath, for above a Thousand Years, been in

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

this Nation; though they have often changed their Princes, yet never the Name nor Office. 'Tis the great Common Law, that is, the Custom of the Nation, approved for good by many Ages, to have the Office and Name of a *King*: No new Law that makes any other, can have that Validity, which the Custom of so many Ages hath.

'Sir, the Parliament doth judge the Safety of your Person much concerned to take this Title; and 'tis not yourself they look to, (though their Hearts are as full of Respect, I may say it, for your Highness as can be) but to you as Chief Magistrate; representing the People; and being Head of the Law, and of all Magistracy (*a*), the People have a Share and Concernment in you. We see the great Encouragement of those Attempts against your Person, hath been this, that the Law did not take Notice of you as Chief Magistrate; and that Juries were generally backward to find any guilty of Treason for ill Attempts against you. The Parliament cannot think it fit to have their Chief Magistrate in such a Condition.

'Your Highness hath been pleased to call yourself, when you speak to the Parliament, a Servant; you are so indeed to the People, and 'tis your greatest Honour so to be. I hope then, Sir, you will give the People Leave to name their own Servant: That is a Due you cannot, you will not, certainly deny them: Their Representatives desire you will serve the People under this Title; and, were there no other Reason, 'tis therefore the best.

'I beseech your Highness to consider, if you should refuse this Title the Parliament presents you with, you do not only deny yourself the Honour they put upon you, but you deny the Nation, you deny the People, their Honour which by Right they ought to have. 'Tis this Honour and their just Birth-right to have a Supreme Magistrate under

(*a*) At the Trial of *Syndercombe*, who was indicted of High Treason, for being concerned in a Plot to assassinate the Lord Protector, the Chief Justice *Glynne* told the Jury, that by the Word *King*, the Law always understood the Chief Magistrate, by whatsoever Name he was call'd,

der the Title of *King*. I know, Sir, tho' you can deny yourself, yet you will not deny the Nation their Due, when their Representatives challenge it from you. The Parliament have highly engaged all the good People of this Nation to make you, who are one of them, and have been in these Troubles their Head and Leader, to be their *King*. And certainly, Sir, whatever Dissatisfaction may be in this Case, it ought not to weigh: If there be any Judge on Earth of the People's Good, 'tis the whole People represented together; and what others say is but by Individuals. Sir, the Parliament have Hundreds, nay Thousands, upon their Backs, the good People of the Nation, a quiet peaceable People with you: And what the Parliament shall judge fit, is their Duty, and no Doubt they will submit to it: Sir, were there in this Matter no other Reason why you should accept this Title, I know this alone, which indeed is the greatest Reason I can give, would sway with you above any Thing, That what is before you, is the Advice of your great Council, the Parliament.'

Inter-regnum.
1657.
April.

The Lord Commissioner *Fiennes* spoke next:

'I shall offer what I conceive, from the Parliament's Debates, to be the Reasons why they advise your Highness to this Title; and seeing what is in the Fountain must be conveyed by such Pipes, I shall clear the State of the Question; which, in the first Place, if I mistake not, is only upon the Name, not upon the Thing; not upon the Office of a *King*, but upon the Title of a *King*: For, the Question is, Whether the same Thing shall be signified by the Office of a *King* under the Name of a *King*, or by the Office of a *King* under the Name of a *Protector*. Undoubtedly the Office of a *King* may be more rigorously exercised under another Name than tho' the Name of *King* be there: He that said, He would not do his Master's Will, and yet did it, did it more than he that said he would, and yet did it not: He that hath all the Powers and Authorities of a *King*, is a *King*, tho' he have not the Name:

Mr. N. Fiennes.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

But there is somewhat of Diversity in this Case, wherein, Sir, you must either enumerate all the Powers of a *Protector*, or what is left to be enumerated must be the same Thing as the Law says is the Duty of a *King*; and this I think the Judges have determined.

‘ This therefore being the clear State of the Question, the Difference will arise meerly upon the Name; and the Parliament did not think it agreeable to their Wisdom to inspect all their Laws, and all the Cases, and make the Name of *Protector* to suit them, or else leave it lawless and boundless; but what was not confined to the Power of a *King*, was confined to the Decision of the Law. That being so, the Parliament thinks it is fit for them to do as all wise Men do, to give Names according to the Nature of the Thing, and either they must fit all the Laws to the Name, and that is impossible; or leave the Name unbounded, and that’s intolerable. All Creatures were brought to *Adam* to give them Names, which he did according to their Natures. And so the Parliament, considering what the Thing is that they were about to advise your Highness to, find this to be the same Government as was before; and if they would have that, why not their old Name? If the Thing, why not the Title? Truly, it seems very reasonable that Names should be proportioned to the Things: They have found divers Reasons why the Name should be *King*, because it is a Thing clear to all the World that the People are more willingly obedient to old Things and Names, than to new; and so far as old Things can be retained without Danger or Inconvenience, it is the Wisdom and Duty of all Governments to retain them.

Mr. Lisle.

The Argument offered on this Occasion, by Mr. *Lisle*, the other Commissioner of the Great Seal, was in these Terms. ‘ I humbly conceive, That, in this Title proposed to your Highness by the Parliament, they take the same Care for your Highness, as *Jethro* took for *Moses*; they find the Weight of the Government, as it is now upon you under the Title of *Protector*, to be a Burthen that will weary both

both yourself and the People likewise ; and therefore they do desire your Highness will be pleased to accept of that Title which may be an Ease to your Highness and to the People.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

‘ The greatest Weight and Burthen of Government is, when there is a Jealousy between the Prince and the People for want of a right Understanding: Now, though, neither Parliament nor People have a Jealousy of your Person, yet of the Title they have, for want of a right Understanding: But if your Highness will be pleased to accept of the Title that is now offered, all Jealousies will be done away; for they will then understand what you are; and truly, Sir, I think the Jealousy will be higher now, than at first when the Remonstrance was offered to you: For the Title of *Protector* is either the same Thing in Power with the Title of *King*, or it is something else. If it be something else than what the Title of *King* is when it is confined, this will raise their Jealousy very much. If it be the same Thing, then there is nothing of Difference but a Name; and they will think there is more than a Name, if the Parliament do offer it to your Highness, and you should wave it.

‘ Sir, the Parliament did think, that your Highness was never able to provide for doing Justice to the Nation for the present, nor that Peace should be maintained in the Nation for the future, unless your Highness do accept of this Title. National Justice does consist in two Things; that you do right to the People with respect to their just Privileges in relation to the Parliament; that you do right to the People in respect to their just Rights, according to the Law of the Land. Sir, the Nations Rights in Parliament can never be done to the People, unless the Parliament hath it's ancient Rights in relation to the Government: And they can never have their Right in relation to the Law, unless the Laws have their antient Right in Relation to the Governors.

‘ Sir, the Reason why the Parliament doth now offer this Advice, as I conceive, is this: They did

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

consider the Case of *David*, when the Elders of *Israel*, and the People, did covenant with him at *Hebron*. The Remonstrance offered to your Highness is the Covenant of the Three Nations, both for Spiritual and Civil Liberties. If there was a proper Time to make *David* King, when they covenanted with him at *Hebron*, it is now a proper Time for you to accept this Title, when the Parliament hath brought this with a Covenant for the Three Nations, that relates both to their Civil and Spiritual Liberties.'

The Lord *Brogbill* (a) took up the Argument after Mr. *Lisle*.

Lord *Brogbill*,

'Sir, I can add so little to what hath been already spoken, that were it not in Obedience to Command, I should with much more Satisfaction be silent than now speak; but, being under an Obligation I must not violate, I shall, in Obedience thereto, presume to lay my poor Thoughts before you: And first I shall take the Boldness to say, I believe it is a Thing impossible for any to particularize every individual Reason which invites a Parliament to pass any Vote; for the Parliament is a Body consisting of many Members, and all of them relish those Arguments and Reasonings which are most consonant to every Man's Apprehension; in which there is so great Variety, that though when a Vote is passed, we may conclude that Vote is the Sense of the House, yet we cannot say, that these, and none but these, Reasons produced that Result. I only mention this, Sir, that whatever I shall speak may be considered, by you, but as my poor Apprehension of what, in some Degree, might have contributed to move the Parliament to petition and advise your Highness to assume the Title and Office of King: For it would be too high a Presumption in any Member, especially in me above any, to dare to aver, That what I should now say, did alone invite the

(a) Afterwards Earl of *Orrery*.

the Parliament to give your Highness that Coun- Inter-regnum.
sel. 1657.

April.

‘ Having thus humbly premised what I held myself obliged unto in Duty, I shall now proceed to acquaint you what, in my weak Judgment. did in some Measure move the Parliament, to do what they have done.

1. ‘ I humbly conceive, That the Title of *King* is that which the Law takes Notice of as the Title of Supreme Magistrate, and no other; and that the old Foundations that are good, are better than any new ones, tho’ equally good in their own Nature. What is confirmed by Time and Experience, carries along with it the best Trial, and the most satisfactory Stamp and Authority.

2. ‘ It was considered too, That it was much better that the Supreme Magistrate should be fitted to the Laws that are in being, than that those Laws should be fitted unto him.

3. ‘ The People legally assembled in Parliament, having considered what Title was best for the Supreme Magistrate, did, after a solemn Debate thereof, pitch upon that of *King*; it being that by which the People knew their Duty to him, and he the Duty of his Office towards them.

4. ‘ There is hardly any who own Government at all in these Nations, but think themselves obliged to obey the old Laws, or those which your Highness and the Parliament shall enact: So that, if the Supreme Magistrate of these Three Nations be intitled *King*, all those who reverence the old Laws, will obediently and chearfully accept of him, as that which is settled upon the Establishment they own; and all that own this present Authority will do the like, because grafted by it; whereby none can rest unsatisfied that think it a Duty to obey former Authorities, or the present.

5. ‘ The former Authorities knew no Supreme Magistrate, but by the Title of *King*; and this present Authority desires to know him by no other; which if refused, might it not much too heighten our Enemies, who may bouldster up their faint Hopes

Inter-regnum,

1657.

April.

with saying to one another, and to those which assist them, ' That their Chief is not only under that Title which all past Parliaments have approved, ' but under that Title which even this Parliament ' does approve of likewise ; whereas our Head is not ' known by the former Laws, and has refused to be ' known by that Application which even the Parliament, that he himself hath called, doth desire to ' know him by ?

6. ' By your Highness bearing the Title of *King*, all those that obey and serve you, are secured by a Law made long before any of our Differences had a Being, in 11 *Henry VII.* whereby a full Provision is made for the Safety of those that shall serve whoever is *King* : ' Tis by that Law that hitherto our Enemies have pleaded Indemnity; and by your assuming what is now desired, that Law, which hitherto they pretended for their Disobedience, ties them, even by their own Profession and Principles, to Obedience: And I hope the taking off all Pretences from so numerous a Party, may not be a Thing unworthy of Consideration: That Law seems very rational; for it doth not provide for any particular Family or Person, but for the Peace and Safety of the People, by obeying whoever is in that Office, and bears that Title. The End of all Government is to give the People Justice and Safety; and the best Means to obtain that End, is to settle a Supreme Magistrate. It would therefore seem irrational, that the People, having obtained the End, should decline that End only, to follow the Means which are but conducing to that End; so that if the Title and Office of *King* be vested in your Highness, and if thereby the People enjoy their Rights and Peace, it would be little less than Madness for any of them to cast off those Blessings, only in order to obtain the same End under another Person.

7. ' There is at present, but a Divorce between the pretended King and the Imperial Crown of these Nations; and we know that Persons divorced may marry again; but if the Person be married to another,

ther, it cuts off all Hopes. These may be some of the Reasons which invited the Parliament to make that Desire, and give that Advice, to your Highness to assume the Title of *King*. There is another, and a very strong one, which is, That they now have actually given that Advice; and the Advices of Parliaments are Things which always ought, and therefore I am confident will, carry with them very great Force and Authority: Nor doth this Advice come singly, but accompanied with many other excellent Things, in reference to our Civil and Spiritual Liberties, to which your Highness hath borne a just and signal Testimony. It is also a Parliament who have given unquestionable Proofs of their Affection to your Highness; and who, if listened to in this Particular, will be thereby encouraged to give you more.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

April 17. The Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke* reported to the House the foregoing Conference with the Lord Protector; and that his Highness declared the Committee's Reasons to be so weighty as to require mature Deliberation; that therefore he could not then come to a final Resolution as to the Acceptance or Non-acceptance of the Title proposed to him; though he seemed, to the Committee, to decline it.

The Lord Protector desires yet farther Time to consider of an Answer;

In consequence of this Report, the House adjourned for three Days, to give Time for the Committee to wait upon the Protector again; but his Highness happening to be sick the very Day they waited upon him, it was not 'till the 20th that they were admitted to an Audience, which was then put off to the next Day; when, as the *Journals* inform us, he spoke something to them as to what had been before offered, and gave them a Paper containing several Scruples as to the Matter of their Petition and Advice.—This Paper it is not in our Power to supply; but the Want of it is the less to be regretted, as most of the Protector's Objections seem to be cited, and answered, in the following Arguments of the Committee.—We still find that the

Which occasions another Conference with the Committee.

principal

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

principal Objection was the Title of *King*; against which *Cromwell* having urged, 'That all the good Purposes of Government might be as fully answered under that of *Protector*,' the Lord Chief Justice *Glynne* insisted, 'That the Name and Office of a *King* was essential to the Settlement of the Nation, for the following Reasons:

Lord Chief Justice *Glynne*.

1. 'Because it is known to the Law; his Duty is known in reference to the People, and the People's Duty known in reference to him: This cannot be transmitted to another Name without much Labour and great Hazard, if it may at all. To go by Individuals, and reckon up all the Duties and Powers that a *King*, by our Laws, hath in reference to his Trust towards the People, and the Duty of the People towards him, is a Work of so great Labour, that it would require Months, yea Years, if not Ages.

2. 'To apply its Relative, *talis qualis*, would introduce these Difficulties: It would be a new Thing: How it would prove is but guess'd at; and it is the Foundation Stone; 'tis unsafe to put it to a Hazard when you have a safe one. Those Certainties and Securities that accompany the Title of *King*, are incident by the antient Laws and Customs of the Nation; and that which the other Office can have, are introductive, and given him *de novo* from this Parliament, as their antient Inheritance who can claim but a new Title of Purchase.

3. 'The People and your Highness lose the best Title, both to their Liberty and your Rights, which is the Law, Antient Custom, and Usage, and claim it only upon the Strength of the Parliament; but if you take it as a *King*, you have the Strength of both.

4. 'If you assume any other Name, and have the Rights given you by Parliament, it may seem as if the People had lost their antient Rights, and had Need of new ones to be created by this Parliament.

5. 'The Assumption of the Title of *King*, is, without Need of any other Authority, sufficient to protect the People, and bind them to obey you.

6. 'If

6. 'If you should take the Name of *Protector*, or any other new Title, whatsoever Authority is applied thereto, is but grafting upon a Stock that is new, and doubtful whether it will bear the Fruits well, and still liable to former Objections without Doors.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

7. 'If you take the Title of *King*, the Worst-affected cannot object against your Authority, or at all against the Parliament as the Donor.'

The Lord Chief Justice *Glynne* having thus briefly, but closely, spoke to the Matter, Mr. *Lenthall* proceeded:

'Sir, It is certain that all Governments in themselves may be good, for none is *malum in se*; but the Rule that hath always been observed, is, That the most necessary and prudent Course to govern a Nation, must be taken from that Proportion which is most suitable to the Nature and Disposition of the People that are governed: If this be the general Rule always in the World, we may well draw this Argument, both from an absolute Necessity, and *ex Necessitate Consequentis* also. The Chief Governor, in a settled Government, being obliged to do for the Good of his People, not only *quod bonum*, *sed quod optimum*; then the Consideration that will follow properly here, will be, Whether the Name of *King*, which, in the Judgment of the Law, implies the Office, be not the best Government for the People's Safety, both *ex Necessitate Cause, et ex Necessitate Consequentis*. To explain this it must be premised, that when we speak of a *King*, we must take the Difference between the Person dignified with the Name, and the *Name* itself; for this must be taken for a sure Ground, that as the Word *King* is a Name, which the Law doth look upon, so it hath its proper Basis and Foundation upon the Law; and is as antient as the Law itself. Now, the Person of the King is a Name that hath its Dignity and Foundation from the Word *King*, as *ex Necessitate Consequentis*; because, in Reason, a Man must be used to exercise that Authority which proceeds from that Name.

Mr. *Lenthall*.

'These

The Parliamentary HISTORY

‘ These Things being very clear, by the Fundamental Grounds of the Law, if then we examine the Foundation of Things according to the Rules of the Law, it is manifest that the Name of King, Laws, Rights, Properties, and Liberties of the People, and also Parliaments themselves, have but one Foundation; which is Original or Prescription, being antient Customs, or Customs Time out of Mind: So that, in the Judgment of the Law, these three, *viz.* King, Law, and Parliaments, are the Parts of the Government of this Nation, which, having their Basis and Foundation from Prescription, constitute the Form of it amongst us; not a Form, in the vulgar Acceptation of the Word Form; but it is the Form of Government settled in this Nation, and of the Essence of it. Then to me it seems impossible, that any Act of Parliament, without the Destruction of the essential Part of the Government, can place that Office in another Name, (be it what it will) which naturally wants the Foundation and Ground of that Power and Office which that Name imports.

1. ‘ Because the Alteration destroys the Foundation, which is Prescription; and annexes to it a Name that the Law of the Land hath no Acquaintance with.

2. ‘ It sets all Laws, Liberties, and what is dear to us, upon a new Foundation, as to the People; for whatsoever is created by an Act, cannot have Life and Authority but from that Act, and shall never look back to its first original Constitution. It takes from the People the Rules and Grounds which they have known by Experience; and sends them to seek them in a Power of which no Wit of Man can suddenly apprehend the Bounds and Limits, when so many Doubts may arise, even in the old Foundation, which Experience and Time hath so excellently refined.

‘ From these Grounds I may safely say, That there never was but one *King* in *England* from the first Foundation of Regal Power, and can safely conclude

conclude there never will be more; although there have been many, and more I hope there will be, whose Persons exercise that Office: For the Law doth positively affirm, *That the King never dies*: Indeed, the Person, like that of other Men, dies; but the Name and Thing hath a kind of Immortality, if we consider the Connexion of the Word with the Person that is invested with that Name; who is not said to die, but to demise, which is to deposite and to lay up the Name and Title of *King*.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

The common Ground is taken from the Accession of the Office and Dignity to the Person; but the true Ground is the Name; and the Office is become Part of the Law, which should punish the Offences that are committed against it; which proves both the Necessity of the Name, and the necessary Relation there is between the Name and the Law; and it is a necessary Deduction, that the Name of *King* is the Thing wherein the Office and Power is placed; and therefore it is not practicable, by any Statute, or Act of Parliament, to divide the Power and Office from the Name, and transfer that Power without the Name: The Word *King* hath such essential Reference to the Law, that it never looks to the Person, to make that the Ground of Essence; if it had but the Name, the Law was satisfied; and therefore it never examined the Right of the Person, how he became invested with the Power; but, *de Facto*, whether he were so or not; and if so, whether *de Facto*, or *de Jure*, it hath the same Influence upon the People's Rights, and the same Advantages to the Chief Governor.

There is also another Reason why the Office cannot be annex'd to another Name, either by Act of Parliament, or otherwise; for in any other Name you must suppose the Office, the *King*; so that any other Name is but a Fiction in respect of the right Name; and it would be very dangerous both to our Laws and Properties, to lay the Basis and Foundation upon a Fiction; which was a Reason why some Judges forbore to act upon the Name of *Custodes*

Libertatis

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April

Libertatis Angliæ, &c. (a) and the same Reason holds upon any other Name. Mr. *Lenthall* also further urged, 'That this Petition and Advice was Matter of Right not of Grace, which was never denied by any Prince in this Nation, nor could be, because there was an Obligation in all Cases to do Right; and this Obligation was upon the *Protector*, whilst he took upon him the Chief Magistracy.'

Colonel *Philip Jones* spoke next to this Effect:

Col. Jones.

May it please your Highness,

'I am unwilling to spend much Time in speaking after those two learned and honourable Persons that spake last; and therefore shall endeavour, in what I have to offer to those Doubts you were pleased to make when this Committee had the Honour last to attend you, to be as brief as may be.

'Your Highness was pleased then to say, 'That though the Arguments brought in Favour of the Title of *King*, in the Petition presented to you by the Parliament, were weighty; yet, in your answering them, you must not grant them to be necessary Conclusions; but take them as having much Conveniency and Probability towards a Conclusion; for if an Expedient could be found, they were not then necessary.' And you was pleased to tell us, 'That tho' *Kingship* be not a Title, but an Office interwoven in our Laws, yet it is not so *Ratione Nominis*, but from what it signifies; that being a Name of Office plainly implying the Supreme Magistracy: And therefore whatever Name it be, wherein the Supreme Magistracy resides, the Signification will give it to the Thing, and not to the Name; and seeing this Title had a Commencement, and also hath been unfix'd, why might not a new one now commence, and be now fix'd by the
'Le-

(a) The Names of the Judges, who refused to act as such, under the Authority of the new Commonwealth, were *Trewar*, *Bacon*, *Cresfield*, *Atkins*, *Browne*, and *Bedingfield*.—See the Declaration of the Commons on that Occasion, in our Nineteenth Volume, p. 7.

‘Legislative Authority; and thereby be made to run
‘through the Law, as well as the Title of *King*?
‘From whence you did infer that this Title is not
‘necessary.’ But, Sir, if the Intention of the Par-
liament, in this their humble Address to you, be
considered, *viz.* That it is a Settlement, it would
be likewise to be considered, whether a new Name
will not be found, in this Case, to make a new Of-
fice also; and whether then the Novelty thereof will
not hazard if not frustrate that great End of Settle-
ment; the Antiquity, and Trial, of Laws, being
that which doth beget the greatest Reverence and
Satisfaction of them in the People.

‘Now that the Change of the Name makes it a
new Office, will appear, both in respect of his Au-
thority who bears the Office, and in respect of the
People’s Obligation in Matter of Obedience to that
new Officer: For, by the antient Law, he cannot
claim Subjection from them, nor can the People
thereby claim Protection from him; the Strength
then of the Settlement, and of their Rights and Li-
berties, as far as they relate to this new Supreme
Magistracy, will rest upon a new and untried Con-
stitution; and his Authority, upon the same Foun-
dation. The Wisdom of our Ancestors, even in lesser
Matters, when they introduced a new Law, made it
for the most Part, a Probationer only; and I may
humbly say, we have now, some Years, been mak-
ing Probationaries of new Governments; there-
fore the Parliament, finding the People not yet fix’d
and reconcil’d to any of them, return to that which,
by long Experience and Custom, hath been found to
suit with their Minds and Rights; the People hav-
ing not the same Satisfaction nor Acquiescence in
any new Thing, as they have in long approv’d Laws
and Customs; since a new Thing is itself uncer-
tain, not only whether it will prove good or no, but
also in this Case, in respect that one main Property
of the Settlement being a co-ordinate Power, de-
pends upon it; and it will be subject to be contro-
verted whether one Co-ordinate is well put by ano-
ther,

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

ther, or may not, by the like Power that sets it up, be pulled down again; which cannot but leave Men's Minds as dubious of a Settlement as ever, Things disputable naturally carrying Unsettlement with them.

'Time and Experience hath grafted the Name and Office of *King* in the Minds of the People; and that, as I said already, begets Reverence and Satisfaction in their Minds. Also, they were the Exorbitances of the Office, which, in a great Measure, this Petition provides against, that was complained of, and not the Office or Name, which are founded upon the antient Laws: The altering of either alters the Constitution, and lays it upon a Foundation less certain, and easier to be shaken; and therefore, to take up the Office without the Title, will be to take it up with all the Objections of Scandal, or otherwise it is said to be liable to; and at the same Time to want the Support of the antient Laws it carries with it, and the Advantage of satisfying and settling the Minds of such of the People of these Nations, as, by the Consideration of Novelty, and what in this Case attends it, will otherwise rest doubtful and unsettled.

'These are some of the Grounds I observed in the Debate of the Parliament, to induce them to judge this Title not only expedient, but, in respect of a Settlement, necessary.'

'Your Highness was pleased to object also, 'The
'Dissatisfaction of good Men, which you judged, in
'Things indifferent, were to be considered.' They are so; and it hath been judged by the Parliament, who shewed great Tenderness in that Kind, and I hope ever will: But in this Matter they are found, by the Parliament, not to be indifferent, but necessary for the Settlement of these Nations; and they hoped that, in those Things wherein good People have not already been satisfied, they will calmly endeavour for Satisfaction; and that when the Matter of this Petition comes to be more public, they will find such Care and Provision made for good Men,
and

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

and good Things, that will certainly give them Satisfaction. I think I may safely say, such a positive Provision for their Liberties and Encouragement, hath not been found out under any former *King*, nor any other Form of Government, to which your Highness hath been pleased yourself to give that Testimony; so that it is not to Kingship alone, as formerly, that the Parliament advises your Highness, but to the Office, with such and such a Provision made for the Public Interest: And if then your Highness, of whose Faithfulness to their Interest good People have received such ample Testimony, will be pleased to consent to this Petition of the Parliament, (an Authority always of no small Esteem and Reverence with the best Men) I doubt not but, when it is done, they will chearfully acquiesce, tho' while it is doing they may have Scruples.

'As for that 'of Providence laying aside the Title,' I think the Argument hence will be as cogent against the Office itself, and against Government by a Single Person under any Title; the Acts of Parliament mentioned, are as expressly against the one as the other; and therefore the Exercise of the Supreme Power by a Single Person, under any Title, is as much a Contradiction of Providence and of these Acts of Parliament, as the Exercise thereof under the Title of a *King*: But certainly the laying aside of a Thing *de Facto*, though indeed it be an Act of Providence, yet it cannot be construed that the Intendment of that Providence is finally to lay it aside, never to be re-assumed again. The Consequences of such a Position are many, and may be dangerous; for what is there, by that Rule, which is not to be laid aside?

'I now remember an Objection, made by your Highness in another Place, which I had almost forgot; 'That we did enjoy our Laws, and that Justice was freely administered, under several Changes and Titles; as under that of the *Keepers of the Liberty of England*, and that of *Protector*, the Title your Highness now bears.' To which I humbly answer, That, if so, Thanks are rather to be given

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

to the Persons into whose Hands the Power fell, than to the Constitutions. However, I crave Leave to say this, That Changes imply not a Settlement; and, since Providence has led us from our old Constitution, we have in a few Years had four or five Changes; and that these Changes have not been accompanied with more Hazard, is a Matter of Praise to the Lord, and of Commendation to the Powers we have been under: But if one Providence hath laid aside *Kingship*, another leads it in, and calls upon you to take it up. And it is to me a remarkable Thing, that Providence hath cast it under such Constitutions and Laws, as that, when we have thrown out the Tyrant that oppressed us in our Spiritual and Civil Rights, we can, by our antient Laws, graft another Person in, that may be a fit Instrument to preserve both; who (as the learned Person that spoke last said) may make up, as it were; but one King these five-hundred Years, the Law not admitting an *Inter-regnum*: From whence I infer, That as it was not the End or Design of our War that led us, (as appears by six or seven Declarations of the Parliament, one whereof was ordered to be read in all Churches) so neither did Providence lead us to lay aside either the Name or Office, but only that Family which oppressed us. And since all Men's Lives and Liberties depend on this Settlement, it is necessary to lay it on the strongest Foundation that may be.

‘And ‘as for that of Safety,’ it is not for me to speak much to it; but certainly it is to be hoped, that as a Parliament advises your Highness to Things honest and lawful, and by them judged necessary for a good Settlement, and therein takes Care and provides for our Rights as Men and Christians, and for your Highness's Safety, all Dangers (by God's Blessing upon your Highness's Wisdom, back'd with such an Authority, and an Army under the Conduct of so many religious and faithful Persons, so well principled to the Obedience of lawful Powers) may be

be prevented. And therefore I humbly hope that God will incline your Highness to grant the Petition and Advice of the Parliament.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

Colonel Jones having done, Sir Richard Onslow Sir Richard On-
next canvass'd the Argument with the Protector; *slow.*

chiefly by way of urging *Cromwell's* Objections, and making Replies to them: And as to the first, 'That the Title of *King* was the Name of an Office, and any other Name, which might imply the Supreme Magistrate, had the same Signification; and therefore no Necessity of the Name;' he answered, 'That every Office ought to have a Name adequate to the said Office; and no other Name than *King* could be suitable, and comprehensive enough to contain in it the Common Good to all Intents and Purposes.

'That it was a Rule, that the Kings of *England* could not alter the Laws of *England*, *Ratione Nominis*; but were bound to govern according to the Laws of *England*; and for any other Name, there was no Obligation lay upon it.

'That the very Title is necessary, was declared in the 9th Year of *Edward* the Fourth, in the great Controversy betwixt him and *Henry* the Sixth, when sometimes one was in Possession, and then the other: That it was necessary the Realm should have a *King*, under whom the Laws might be maintained and holden; for every Action done by the *King* in Possession was valid and good, because it was his Jurisdiction Royal; so likewise in the 1st of *Henry* the Seventh, and also in the 3d, the same Opinion was held and declared, That a *King de Facto*, was necessary; and, in all Alterations of Persons and Families, yet our Ancestors always retained the Title and the Name.

'That there was a *Prius* and a *Primum*: Another Name might, in Order and Degree, be first; that is, before other Men; but a *King* was *Primum*, the first Name, that had its Beginning with our Laws.

Inter-regnum)

1657.

April.

‘ That the Customs of *England* were the Laws of *England*, as well as our Statute Laws : That the Title of *King* and *Custom* were Twins born together, and had had Continuance together ; and therefore to join *Protector*, of which they knew the Date, with *Custom*, of which no Memory could speak, was a Kind of Contradiction to the Original.

‘ That then there must be an introductory Law, because *Protector* was a new Name which our Law did not yet know : That, now, to ingraft a young Scion upon an old Stock, it would never grow ; but there must be an Eradication of the old Root, and a new Plantation must be made ; all the old Customs must be put into positive Laws ; which would be a Work of much Time and great Difficulty.

‘ That the Title of *King* was so incorporated and conjoined with our *Customs*, that it did very much concern the People of *England* to have them upheld ; and then there was a Rule, *Quæque Res in Conjunctione, pro Bono Conjunctionis* ; that every Thing in Conjunction ought to be done for the Good and Benefit of the Conjunction ; and that, if it were for the Advantage of the Single Person and the People, it brought him in Mind of another Rule his old Master *Tully* taught him, *Communis Utilitatis Derelictio contra Naturam est* ; it was not natural to decline that which was for a common Benefit and Advantage : And therefore he should say but this as to the Title, That as the Patriarch *Jacob* joined together, in his Blessing upon *Judah*, the Law-giver and the Scepter, so the Parliament of the Three Nations desired to preserve the Title of *King* in and upon the Law.

‘ As to the second Objection his Highness was pleased to draw from Providence, ‘ that had brought ‘ them to that Place through much Darkness, and ‘ had seemed to lay the Title of *King* aside : ‘

‘ He replied, ‘ That it became all Men to acknowledge the Actings of the Providence and Power of God, for bringing to pass whatsoever he had determined

terminated in the World ; and that it was the mighty and wise Hand of Providence which triumph'd over Nations, and triumphed and trod down all Oppositions : That yet his Highness had observed it was not a Rule to walk by without the Word ; the Reason, the Causes, were hidden in the secret Councils of God's Will : That we might see, in the *Revelations*, the Book was sealed with seven Seals, that we might read what was past, because written on the Outside of a Book ; but what was to come we could not read ; and we ought not to limit Providence, nor could we bound it with a *Ne plus ultra*.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

' In Answer to the third Objection, ' That this State had, by Providence, received several Changes, ' particularly two great ones, from the former Constitution ; that of the *Keepers of the Liberty of England*, and the present Government under the Title of *Protector* ; and that the first seemed to be the Result of seven Years War against the Title and the Family :

' He argued, ' That it must be confessed it proved the Event of seven Years War, but the Reasons of the War did not lead to it, for the War was for the King and Parliament ; for the Office, but against the Person, against the Exorbitancy and Irregularities of his Government ; but it was Providence that took away, at that Time, both the Office and the Family :

' That it was also Providence that altered it from that of a Republic to this of a *Protector* ; that Act being as much against a *Protector* as a King, for it was against a Single Person :

' And might not this Parliament, by the same Series of Providence, as well set up *Kingly* Government, as that Parliament took it away, having also the same Power they had ?

' Then for a fourth Objection, ' Why his Highness would not accept of the Title, because of the Dissatisfaction many Persons, who had been instrumental in carrying on the Work, had against that Title :

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

‘His Answer was, ‘That in every Change of Government there was, and still would be, Persons unsatisfied, because Men were of mix’d Interests, and different Judgments. Upon the Change to a Republic, those that conceived the Monarchical Government best, were unsatisfied : But all ought to submit, and be concluded by the Judgment of a Parliament.’

‘That his Highness was pleased to say, ‘That neither himself, nor those that tendered to him the Instrument, were Authors of the first Change, but it was the Long Parliament ; so that he might conclude they were not engaged for the Government by a King.’

‘He replied, ‘That it had been indeed the Honour of the Soldiery, that, in all these Changes, they had still followed Providence, and had acquiesced ; acting and living in practical Conformity ; but he wished they would now be satisfied, for their Love-sake to them, and their Labours for them : That high should his Reward be in Heaven, and happy his Remembrance on Earth, that would be the Means of such an Accord ; but to satisfy all Men, so divided as they were, would be no less than a Wonder : That he should repeat a Parable, in *Ezekiel xxxvii, 16.* where the Lord said to the Prophet, *Take two Sticks, write upon one Stick for Judah and the Children of Israel’s Companions ; and take the other Stick, and write upon it for Joseph, the Stick of Ephraim, and all the House of Israel’s Companions ; and join these two Sticks in one Stick, and they shall become one in thy Hand ; these are the two Nations of Israel and Judah, two distant and different Names, but they shall come under one King, and David shall be their King : Thus they were united.*’

‘As to the last Objection, ‘That Justice had been as well administered, and as free from Solicitations, under these Changes, as before :’

‘He told the Protector, That his Highness was pleased to say, ‘He undertook that Charge to preserve them

them from Confusion; which indeed was the worst Inter-regnum. of Evils; and the same Reason might prevail with Judges, and other Magistrates, to execute Justice, and give to Men their Rights, which was so desirable to all Men, and of absolute Necessity.

1657.

April.

‘That Justice might be compared to the Water in the Spring; if kept from its Natural Channel, it would break its Way through the Bowels of the Earth: That Nature sometimes might suffer Violence: That there was a Peace in a Cessation of War; and there was a Peace that, in regard of the Distractions, might be termed but an intermitting Peace; for his Highness was pleased to acknowledge, that the People called for a Settlement; from which, under Favour, he might infer, that, as yet, there was no Settlement so well made, as to be accounted perfect and good.

‘That his Highness was pleased to declare, ‘He had rather take a Title from this Parliament, than any other Title from any other Place, or without it.’

‘Upon which he observed, That the Parliament of *England* was the Womb of the Commonwealth; and in that Womb there had been a Conception and Shape, Proportion and Form, and Life and Growth, as far as the Navel could nourish; that there had been also a Delivery, and a Name given; that there had been *Conceptu conceptus, Partus et Opus*; and that it had been a great Work to bring us to this Delivery: That it was therefore the humble Advice of the Parliament, That his Highness would be pleased to make it speak the *English* Tongue.

The Lord Commissioner *Fiennes*, next, address’d himself to the Protector to this Effect: ‘Your Highness, the other Day, laid down, as a Ground of your ensuing Discourse, this Position, ‘That there was no Necessity of the Name and Title of ‘King,’ upon which Foundation your Highness seemed to build your Arguments and Reasons of Dissatisfaction.

Mr. Fiennes.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

‘ As to that Name and Title, and that in such Sort as the Matter is now circumstantiated and stated by your Highness, there is a Necessity either in the Affirmative or Negative ; if it be not necessary that the Name be assumed, it is of Necessity to be declined ; and if no Necessity to decline it, then there is a Necessity to assume it : For although the Nature of the Thing itself is such as, possibly, may admit a Latitude of Argument upon the Point of Expediency and Conveniency ; and that we are not shut up under an absolute Necessity either the one Way or the other ; yet the Parliament having given their Judgment upon it, and their Advice to your Highness in it, your Highness seems to admit that there lies a Kind of Necessity upon you to assume it, if there be not a Necessity to wave it : For you will not, without Necessity, decline the Advice of the Parliament, having said, ‘ That you should rather chuse any Name which they should fix, than any Name whatsoever without them.’ Then it imports thus much, That you will not put Expediency and Conveniency, but only Necessity, in Balance with their Judgment, who are the proper Judges of Things of that Nature, and what is most expedient and convenient therein for the Three Nations which they represent : And it is certain there is a Kind of Impossibility, at once, to enumerate all particular Cases and Circumstances, wherein the Chief Magistrate shall, or shall not, have Power or Right ; which has been the Work of many Hundreds of Years, whereby the Laws are fitted, in all Particulars, to the Name and Title of *King* ; but to the Name of *Protector*, or any new Name, either all Cases and Circumstances must, by particular Enumeration, be applied ; or it must be left, at least in what is not enumerated, boundless and lawless, which it should not be ; or else, to suit a particular Enumeration, there must be a general Clause, That in all Things, not particularly specified, they shall be defined by the Laws and Rights belonging to the Name of *King*. Then the Question will be merely nominal

nominal, and consequently not to be put in Balance with the Judgment of Parliament : Besides, the Definition being identically the very same, and no Difference but only that of a new Name ; this, in the Judgment of divers wise Men, may draw after it such a Consequence as the putting of old Wine into a new Bottle, which may hazard the Loss of the Thing, and of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation, which are desired to be preserved thereby.

‘ Magistracy is, certainly, an Ordinance of God primarily, yet particular Forms of Magistracy and Government, and much more the Circumstances of those Forms, as Names, Titles and the like, are first Ordinances of Men, before they are Ordinances of God : First, Man sets his Stamp upon them, and then God also sets his Impress upon them ; and therefore, though they be but Ordinances of Men, yet the Apostle saith, *We are to submit unto them for the Lord’s Sake, whether to the King as Supreme, or unto Governors, as those that are sent by him ;* and what Peter calls *Ordinances of Men*, Paul calls *Ordinances of God* ; and yet they are to be obey’d, not only for Fear, but also for Conscience Sake ; so that in these Forms of Government Men may do as they will, as in other Contracts, wherein it is free for them to contract or not to contract, or to make their Covenants this Way or another ; but when they have made them they must keep them, for then God’s Seal is upon them.

‘ Now, as to the Matter in Question, it is clear, that the unquestionable Stamp of human Authority, and the Ordinance of Man in these Nations, hath conjoined the Office and Name of *King* for many hundred Years together : And, if it was waved and laid aside of late Years, it is now set up again by as good an Authority, and a fuller Representative of the Three Nations ; and though it be only by Petition to your Highness, yet it is in some Sort a Petition of Right : For the People of these Nations have an Interest in their Government and Laws, whereof this was amongst the Fundamentals, as well as in their Liberties and Lands ; and though particular

The Parliamentary HISTORY

lar Persons may have forfeited their Interest in the Government, yet I do not know that the Nations have forfeited their Interest therein.

‘If this Point shall seem to be driven too far, yet it is clear that if this Office, under the Name and Title of *King*, be most known, and most suitable to the Laws of these Nations, most agreeable to the Desires and Dispositions of the People, and most likely to maintain Quiet and Peace in the Nations with Justice and Liberty, (which are the great Ends of Government, and of all Forms and Names therein) as in the Judgment of the Parliament it is; Then, as it is the Duty of the Parliament to advise it, so doth it thereby lay an Obligation upon your Highness to accept it, as a necessary Medium to attain those Ends.

‘And whereas your Highness is pleased to say, ‘This Medium is not necessary, because the Ends may be attained by another Medium, as appeareth in these two Names and Titles, *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, and *Protector*.’ It may be affirmed of the one, that the Experience of it was but of short Continuance; and of the other, that it hath and doth still stand but in a shaking and uncertain Condition; and of both, that they have attained the End but imperfectly, and that through the Help of a great deal of Force. Besides, if the Parliament, (and they suppose the like Reason extends also to your Highness) when persuaded in their Judgments that your taking the Name and Title of *King* is the best Medium to preserve the Liberties and the Peace of the Nations, should make Choice of a weaker Prop, no Necessity appearing unto them so to do; and that thereupon should ensue great Inconveniencies; and the Band of Peace being broken, Blood and Confusion should return upon the Nation; it must needs also return upon their Thoughts that they had been wanting in their Duty, in not providing the best Remedy, which possibly might have prevented all the Mischief.

‘This leads to the Consideration of another Question in this Matter, Whether, admitting your High-

Highness's Position, 'That there is not a Necessity of this Name of *King*,' the Reason held forth by your Highness, makes out such a Necessity as that you cannot take upon you that Name, though advised thereto by the Parliament, as the best, and most conducing to the Ends of Government. Your Highness was pleased, in the first Place, to mention the Dissatisfaction, as to this Particular, of many pious Men, and such as have grown up all along with you in the carrying on this great Cause, as 'Soldiers;' which indeed must needs be a very great and tender Consideration to your Highness, as it is also to all of us, who reap the Fruit of their Prayers and of their Hazards, and great and excellent Service; and it would be a great Happiness, if it might please God that great and good Things were carried on with Unanimity and Harmony amongst good Men: But this Felicity hath never yet been granted unto us; so that great Matters and Changes have been accompanied with great Difficulties, with great Difference of Judgments, even amongst the best Men, as our late Changes sufficiently testify.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

'Your Highness knows well when that Change was made, whereby the Name and Office of *King* was laid aside, how many pious Men, and your old Friends, were dissatisfied therewith; and yet those that had then the Power, did not think that they should therefore forbear to do what then was judged to be for the Good of the Nation.

'There was the like Dissatisfaction, on the other Side, of many pious Men, when your Highness took upon you the Government under the Name of *Protector*; and yet it was not held any just Obstacle to what was then thought good for the Nation.

'There is a certain Latitude, whereby Respect may be had to Friends; but when the Public Good of the whole Nation is in Question, other Considerations than that ought not to take Place: And as it is no Kindness to go about to satisfy Men's Desires, to their own Prejudice and the Injury of the Public, so it cannot be thought but that pious and
sober

The Parliamentary HISTORY

sober Men, when they see this Name stamp'd first with the Ordinance of Men, and afterwards with God's Ordinance, (for so it will then be) will submit thereunto for the Lord's Sake; and satisfy their Minds that they ought so to do.

'For that other Reason alledged by your Highness, 'That this Name hath been blasted, and taken away by the Parliament:' It is clear, that the Thing was as much blasted as the Name; and the Government by a Single Person, under what Name soever, as much and more blasted than this Name; but, in Truth, neither Name nor Thing hath been at all blasted by God, otherwise than as he blasted all Things and Names of this Nature. It may be as truly said, That he hath blasted Parliaments, for they have also undergone and felt the like Blasts; but God hath so declared his Will concerning all particular Forms of Government, that they are wholly at the Pleasure and Disposition of Men, to be continued, altered, and changed according to the Exigency of Affairs, and the Good of the People and Nations for which they are instituted by Men; for the Scripture calleth them *Humanae Creationis*. Therefore as Men blasted them, so God blasted them; and when God sets them up again, God honoureth them again, and commands they should be honoured: One Parliament thought the present State of Affairs requir'd the taking away of this Name and Office; and this Parliament judges that the present State of Affairs requires the restoring it to the Nations again.

'As to that Point of Safety which your Highness touched upon, we might best answer it by drawing a Curtain before it, as your Highness hath given us an Example. There are Dissatisfactions on the one Side, as well as on the other, neither is the Consideration of Danger only on the one Side; and some Things may be more convenient for your Highness to conceive, than for us to speak; only I shall remind your Highness of what the wise Man saith, *He that observeth the Wind shall never sow, and he that regardeth the Clouds shall never reap*: The Huf-

Husbandman, in the Way of his Calling, must regulate his Actions by the Ordinance and revealed Will of God, without attending unto the uncertain Events which may arise through the Inclemency of the Air, which is in God's Hands and Disposition; so every Man, in the Way of his Calling, must attend to what is the revealed Will of God, to guide his Resolutions and Actions by, and not by the various Minds of Men, which are in the Hands of God: And the wise Man also saith, *He that walketh uprightly, walketh surely*; he walketh uprightly that walketh according to God's revealed Will. It is in like Manner a great Sign of Integrity, to speak as a Man thinks, to do as he speaks, and to suit Names to Things; and as your Parliament hath thought fit to suit *Kingship* with this Thing, so have they offered it to your Highness with much Integrity, and without any other Respect than the Good and Liberty of the Nations.'

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

The Lord Broghill spoke next, to this Effect:

Lord Broghill.

'Your Highness, the last Time this Committee had the Honour to wait upon you, seemed to be of Opinion, 'That it was not necessary that you should assume the Title of *King*, to exercise legally the Office and Duty of Supreme Magistrate of these Three Nations; because that the Title of *Protector*, if by the Authority of Parliament, made the Title of the Chief Magistrate, would do as well, and answer all Ends of Government as fully, as that which now the Parliament does desire and advise your Highness to take upon you.' But, to effect this, either all the Powers and Limitations of a *Protector* must be more particularly enumerated, or he must, under that Name, have all the Authorities of a *King*, as a *King* has by the Law.

Of the first of these then (as those learned Gentlemen that have spoken before, have fully proved) whatsoever is not particularly specified, the *Protector* is left to act arbitrarily in, or a Parliament must be called to supply every new discovered Defect; his Powers being derived only from that Authority that

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

that now does, or hereafter shall, constitute them: This will prove dangerous and inconvenient both to himself and to the People; and to set down all the Authorities and Regulations which are requisite, will be a Work of so much Time and Difficulty, that if, in the Notion of it only, it seems impracticable, it will, in Acting, be found much more so.

* As to the Second, it will evidently appear, that the Difficulty is only about a Name; and it would be a sad Thing indeed that any Difference should be between your Highness and the Parliament, especially when the Thing differ'd in refers to the settling of our Foundation, and the Thing differ'd upon is only a Name. I hope that Unhappiness will be so well foreseen, as never to be run into.

* Your Highness was pleased to take Notice; That if the Title of *Protector* was settled by Parliament, hardly any Thing could be objected against it, but that it is a Title not so long known to these Nations as that of *King*. And this is a grave and weighty Objection; since, in constituting of Governments, the ablest and most discerning Judges are incapable to see those Disadvantages and Inconveniences, which Time and Experience do render evident; which may be a Reason, if not the chief one, why our Ancestors would never alter *Kingly* Government, tho' they had often the Power to do it, and were provoked thereunto by the Exorbitancy and Mal-Administration of their Princes; they choosing rather to bound that Office in Proportion to the Evils they had suffered under it, than to establish a new Model of their own; in erecting of which, they could not have, in some Ages, the Experience they had of that: And to cast off an Office that has been some hundreds of Years pruning and fitting for the Good of the People, to establish one that has been but newly known, were to think ourselves wiser in one Day, than our Forefathers have been ever since the first Erecting of Regal Government.

‘It is an unquestionable Principle, That the Magistrate is established for the Laws, and not the Laws for the Magistrate : If therefore the Title of *Protector* should be the Title of the Supreme Magistrate, we should fit the Laws to him, not him to the Laws ; which would be by our Practice to contradict our Professions, and possibly wound the People’s Rights : But in this Point there has been so much said, and that so learnedly, by those worthy Persons who have spoke before, that to prove the Necessity of your Highness assuming the Title of *King*, would be but to recapitulate those many Reasons already given. That the Parliament of Three Nations think it necessary you should do it, is evident by their inserting it amongst those three Things which they esteem Fundamentals as to the Settlement : Yea, they have placed it at the Head of all those Fundamentals, and laid so great Stress on it, that, in their humble Petition and Advice, they declare, ‘That if it be not accepted of, the whole shall be esteemed null and void ;’ so that the highest Necessity, imposed by a Parliament, well deserves the best Acceptance.

Inter-regnum:
1657.

April.

‘Your Highness was pleased to mention, ‘That we had recent Experiments, that the Supreme Magistracy of the Nation might be managed, to all Intents and Purposes, as well under another Name and Title as that of *King*, viz. under the Name of *The Keepers of the Liberty of England*, and under that of *Protector* :’ But I shall humbly beseech your Highness to consider, That because that was not grounded upon the old known Laws, it was of very short Duration : And for the Second, for the same Reason, the Parliament is now petitioning and advising your Highness to alter it ; so what are brought as Arguments to prove what your Highness mentions, possibly may rather evince the contrary : Besides, Sir, it is confessed on all Hands, That these two Changes sprung from Necessity ; and therefore were not, neither ought to be, of longer Continuance than that Necessity which caused them ; and this is the great and real Difference
between

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

between Constitutions that are established meerly because Necessary, and those that are established meerly because Good : For what is only of Necessity, is but temporary, as no Effect lasts longer than its Cause ; but what is good in its own Nature, is always good ; and if, by intervening Accidents, it be a while clouded, yet at length it shines and overcomes ; and all wise Men do desire to revert unto it.

‘ To prove that the first of these Changes, the *Keepers of the Liberty of England*, was only an Act of Necessity, and not of Choice, I need but remind your Highness, That after the Determination of the Regal Authority, the Parliament were necessitated to advise with a Civilian of another Nation, what the *Hollanders* had done in their Case ; so much they were at a Loss what to do : And, indeed, the Providence of God hath so altered the Temper of Officers between that Time and this, that the Change appeared best, because necessary : But the Parliament esteems the Change now desired necessary, because best ; nor can we possibly better express our Thankfulness for the Opportunity which now God hath put into our Hands, than to employ it to make the best and most lasting Settlement.

‘ All Things are best, which are found best upon Trial ; but all the Changes we have been under of late were upon Belief, nor Experiment ; and having had an Essay of all, the Parliament have found, That, above all, Regal Government is the best ; so that, by the best Judges, and by the best Way of judging, that Form of Government now presented to your Highness, hath the Precedency in the People’s Opinion ; and therefore its hoped you will have it in yours.

‘ It may possibly be fit for your Highness’s Observation, That the first Breach which happened amongst those worthy Persons, who instrumentally carried on our Common Cause, arose from the taking away the Title and Office of *King*, so often declared for, and engaged to be maintained by the Parliament ; till then we went Hand in Hand, and took
sweet

sweet Council together : And if the Abolishing thereof caused so sad a Breach, probably the Relioration of it may make it up again

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April

' Your Highness was pleased to say, ' You assumed the Office you now bear with no better Hope than to prevent Mischief; questionless we may expect better Fruits from the Supreme Magistracy: And if your Highness, who is every Way so worthy of that Office, had no better Hopes under the Title of *Protector*, we may justly ascribe it not unto yourself, but unto the Constitution of Government you acted under; and therefore, if your Highness will assume the Supreme Magistracy according to the Laws, we shall both hope and believe that you will not only prevent Ill, but do much Good; the best Governor being grafted upon the best Government.

' Your Highness expressed some Doubts, ' That the Providence of God hath blasted the *King's* Office in the Dust; and that, by an Act of Parliament, it was laid aside: But I humbly hope your Highness will pardon me, if I cannot have the like Apprehension; I cannot believe, if that Office were blasted by the Hand of God, that the Parliament would advise and petition you to take it up. Besides, Sir, the very Act which first cast out the *Kingly* Office, did also cast out the Supreme Magistracy in any *Single Person*; yea, by Way of Election or otherwise: Therefore I beg your Pardon, if I cannot think that that Act of Parliament can be interpreted as a providential Blasting of that Office, which your Highness thought necessary to accept of; and by Virtue of which we have, for some Years past, enjoyed Quiet and Protection: But if Regal Government be blasted, then the Supreme Magistracy in a single Person is as much so; they being both, equally, declared against at the same Time, and in the same Act of Parliament. Now, since your Highness, by your Actings, have evinced you did not believe the Supreme Magistracy in a Single Person was blasted by Providence, you will permit us to believe that Regal Government is no more blasted than that; the same Authority and the same

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

Act having blasted, as far as they could, both alike.

‘Your Highness is also pleased to say, ‘Regal Government is cast out *de Facto*.’ If the Weight of the Argument does rest thereon, your Highness, by accepting the Petition and Advice of the Parliament, will make your Argument as strong for Regal Government as ever it was against it; and ’tis hoped your Highness will not doubt, that what one Supreme Authority did suppress, another may erect. The setting up a Commonwealth-Government seemed necessary in their Judgment only, when they knew not what to do after they had ejected Kings; and we shall be in the like Perplexity, if now you accept not of this Offer. The Act of Parliament for abolishing of Monarchy must be considered under that Notion only; and yet I think there are few that esteem it not as fit to prefer Regal Government again, under due Qualifications, as it then was esteemed fit not to allow of it under any. Again: If your Highness’s Argument was carried on as far as it might be, I apprehend it might also bring into Question, that the Parliament was blasted by Providence; for whoever allows not the dissolving of the Long Parliament to be under that Notion, will hardly find a good Reason for its Dissolution.

‘But it may be said, ‘That the Long Parliament was rejected on account of some that acted in it, who were suspected to have a Design of perpetuating themselves in that Authority, which would have turned what should have been our Physic into our Poison.’ To which I humbly answer, Had that been so, the People might have had new Writs sent unto them for the Election of their Representatives, who might have carried on the Public Affairs of the Nation by a new Parliament; but it seems those Times would not bear it, and therefore a Convention of select Persons were called, unchosen by the People, to whom all Power was devolved; and who had even a Right to have perpetuated themselves, by calling in to themselves, from Time

to Time, such as they thought fit: So. that Parliaments were, not for that Turn only, laid aside, but even by that Constitution which did it, were perpetually excluded. Hence it is evident, That if Kings were *de Facto* blasted, Parliaments were the like, yea much more so; for in the Act for abolishing Regal Government, it was Treason in those only, who offered to restore it without Consent of Parliament: But in that Assembly there was no such Provision for Parliaments at all; for, by their Constitution, Parliaments were excluded: And to evidence how much Stress there lies barely upon a Legal Name, that Assembly, to give a greater Sanction to their Actings, styled themselves a *Parliament*, that being the only Name under which it was fit for them to be taken Notice of as the Supreme Authority of the Nation; which possibly may invite your Highness to believe, that godly and wise Men think it essential to have Titles consonant to our Laws: And therefore that your Highness, in the Exercise of the Supreme Magistracy, will be the rather invited to assume the Title of *King*; that, only, being consonant to the Law.

Inter-regnum,
1657.

April.

‘I think all sober Men agree upon the Necessity of a Government, but for the particular Form thereof, it is left to the Wisdom of those which the People chuse to represent them, to set up such a one as may be most fitted to their Genius, and likeliest to tend to their Good and Tranquillity. If any can prove that Regal Government, by the Word of God, is unlawful, or that the People have not Power to give the Supreme Magistrate what Name they think best, I should be then silent: But since that Power is, unquestionably, in the Representatives of the People; since they have desired your Highness to govern them by the Title of *King*; and since also nothing can be objected against it, and both Reason and Custom plead for it, we earnestly hope you will not think fit to deny the People that which is their Right, and I believe was never yet denied, by any Supreme Magistrate, to any People. To all this may be added, That if *Kingship* has

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

been cast out by many Providences, your Highness, by accepting it, will shew, That it is restored at least by as many more, that have happened in the Intervals between its Rejection and Restitution.

‘Your Highness did further object, ‘That some good Men would be offended at your Acceptance of that Title.’ I confess that this is very considerable; and I think every judicious Person in the House would be very cautious to give Men of that Character a just Offence: But your Highness will be pleased to permit me to remind you of the Character you gave of good Men in your last Speech: ‘They are such, you said, as give Obedience to Gospel Ordinances; which require Obedience to Authorities, not for Fear, but for Conscience-Sake: That you reckoned nothing of Piety without that Circle; and that any Principle which opposed this was diabolical, and sprung from the Depth of *Satan’s* Wickedness.’

‘You were pleased further to say, ‘That though some good Men scrupled at that Name the Parliament thought fit to restore, yet their doing so was no Part of their Goodness.’ By all which it will be evident, that your Acceptance thereof cannot offend good Men, unless they esteem their Obedience to a Gospel-Ordinance an Offence, which I hope no good Men will or can do.

‘I shall also humbly beseech your Highness to consider, That if on the one Side, the Acceptance of the Title may offend some good Men; so, on the other Side, the declining of it will give Offence to the Parliament, where all good Men are legally, and at once represented.

‘The Case of *David*, when his Child was sick, may possibly parallel the Case of such good Men, as are herein unsatisfied. While the Child was sick, he was very earnest with the Lord, for the restoring of it to Health, but God was not pleased so to do, and the Child died: His Servants, being of another Principle than himself, thus reasoned: ‘If his Trouble and Grief were so great while yet the Child was not dead, what will it be now it is dead?’

But

But *David* reasoned thus : ' While there was Hope, I wrestled with God; but since his Will is declared, I chearfully submit to it.' I hope, as the scrupulous Consciences of good Men, in the particular Point of Regal Government, is a Parable in the History, so it will likewise prove in the Event.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

' Your Highness was further pleased to mention ' some Considerations in reference to Safety : ' To which I humbly answer, The Things that are offered to you are just in themselves, in reference to Civil and Spiritual Things, and so acknowledged by you: That Authority that tenders them, is the Supreme Legal Authority of Three great Nations. You have a faithful and a good Army, and we have you at the Head of them : What shall we then fear? To which I shall only add, That our Safety hath been often in Danger by the King and Parliament's disagreeing; but this is the first Time, if it be in Danger, that ever it was by their Agreement. To this I may further add, That whatever Evil may arise from your Agreement with your Parliament, it will befall us in the Way of our Duty, which is an inward Comfort to balance any outward Evil : But if any Evil happens by your not closing with your Parliament, we shall undergo the outward Harm, and be denied the inward Support.

' Your Highness was also pleased to say, ' You ' had rather have any Name from this Parliament, ' than the greatest Name that is not given by them.' Permit me therefore now to say, That, to all other Arguments, we have one that is irrefutable, and that is your own Engagement; for the Parliament doth desire and advise you to accept the Name of *King* : Hitherto we have pleaded but upon the account of your Engagement, and it is humbly hop'd that your Highness, who hath so exactly observed your Word to the worst of your Enemies, will not break it to your best Friends the Parliament.'

The Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke*, who was the first according, to his Place as Chairman, that be-

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

gun the Conference, concluded the whole Argument with the following Discourse to the Protector.

S I R,

Lord-Commis-
sioner Whitlocke.

‘ I have very little to trouble your Highness with. So much hath been already spoken, and so well, that it will be hard for me, or any other, to add to it; only the Duty of my Employment, and something due to your Highness, occasions me to speak a few Words to acknowledge, with very humble Thanks, the Honour and Right which you have done this Committee, by the clear and free Discourses and Conferences which they have had with your Highness; and for your frequent Expressions and Testimonies of Affection and Respect to the Parliament, whose Sense in this I may presume to speak, That never any Persons met their Supreme Magistrate with more Love, Duty, and Honour, than the Parliament have met your Highness with, in their present Addresses; which Argument of Love deserves the Esteem and Forces, which I doubt not but your Highness will put upon it. I am afraid to be too tedious at any Time, especially at so late an Hour; and therefore I shall speak but briefly to some Things, which, as I remember, have not been mentioned.

‘ Your Highness was pleased, at the last Meeting, to say, ‘ That the Original Institution of the Title of *King*, was by common Consent; and that the same common Consent might institute any other Title, and make it as effectual as that of *King*.’ This must be acknowledged; but, withall, you may be pleased to observe, That the Title of *King* is not only by an original common Consent, but that Consent also approved and confirmed; and the Law fitted thereunto, and that fitted to the Laws, by the Experience and Industry of many Ages, and many Hundreds of Years together, whereas any other Title will be only by present common Consent, without that Experience and Approbation.

‘ As for that Experience which your Highness ‘ mentioned to have been of other Titles, and the due

‘ due Administration of Justice under them,’ that is *Inter-regnum*.

1657.

April.

far short of the other : and for the Course of Justice, we have Cause to thank that Care which placed so good Judges and Officers over us ; yet give me Leave to say, That in private Causes between Party and Party, and in public Matters in criminal Causes, it was not easy to find Justice to be done by some Jurors ; and many Questions have arisen upon the Occasion of those new Titles. Concerning that tender Point, good Men’s Satisfaction, I think it requires a very great Regard from us ; and I doubt not but those good People will be fully satisfied, if they consider the Covenants, Promises and Precepts, which in the Scriptures are annex’d to the Name of *King* : And tho’ some have alledged, that they belong to any Chief Magistrate as well as to a *King* ; yet no Man did ever read the original Word translated otherwise than *King* ; neither do I find the present Title of *Protector* once mentioned in Holy Writ.

‘ If the present Authority be a lawful Authority, which I hope none of us will deny, surely those good Men, who were so well principled in Godliness, will not forget that Precept of Submission to Authority : and so be satisfied with that which lawful Authority shall ordain. Their Rights and Liberties are the same with ours ; and the Parliament cannot advise any Thing for the Preservation of the People’s Rights but those good Men are included : which I hope will be no Dissatisfaction to them. In all the Changes which we have seen, there has been a Dissatisfaction in some, yet still the Blessing of God hath gone along, thro’ all these Changes, with those who carried on his Interest ; and the Cause being the same, the same Mercies have been continued : And I doubt not (if the intended Change, or rather Restitution, be made, as I hope it will) but the same God will continue his Blessings to that good old Cause wherein we are engaged ; and that all good Men will receive Satisfaction by it.

‘ Your Highness hath been told, ‘ That the Title ‘ of *King* is upon the Foundation of Law ; and that ‘ a new Title must have a new Constitution to make

Inter-regnum.

1657.

April.

‘ the Laws relate unto it, and that unto the Laws :’
I shall only add this, That a Title by Relation is not so certain and safe as a Title upon the old Foundation of the Law ; and that a Title upon a present single Constitution, as any new one must be, cannot be so firm as a Title both upon the present Constitution and upon the old Foundation of the Law likewise, which the Title of *King* will be.

If any Inconvenience should ensue upon your Acceptance of this Title which the Parliament adviseth, your Highness’s Satisfaction will be, that they did advise it : On the contrary, if any Inconvenience should arise upon your Highness’s Refusal of that Title which the Parliament hath advised, your Burden will be the greater : And therefore, whatsoever may fall out, will be better answered by your Highness’s complying with your Parliament than otherwise.

‘ This Question is not altogether new ; some Instances have been given of the like, to which I shall add two or three. The Title of the King of *England*, in the Realm of *Ireland*, was *Lord of Ireland*. And the Parliament, in the 33d of *Henry* the Eighth, reciting the Inconveniences which did arise there by reason of that Title, did enact, That *Henry* the Eighth should assume the Style and Title of *King of Ireland* ; which, in the Judgment of that Parliament, was preferred before the other.

‘ In the State of *Rome*, new Titles proved fatal to their Liberties ; their Case was not much unlike ours ; they were wearied with a Civil War, and coming to a Settlement, *Cuncta Discordiis Civilibus fessa, sub nomine Principis Imperium accepit* ; some would not admit the Title of *Rex* to be used, but were contented to give the Titles of *Cæsar*, *perpetuus Dictator*, *Princeps Senatûs*, *Imperator*. *Non sum Rex, sed Cæsar*. And it came at last to this, *Voluntas Cæsaris pro Lege habebatur*.

The Northern People were more happy amongst themselves : A private Gentleman, of a Noble Family, took up Arms with his Countrymen against a Tyrant ; and, by the Blessing of God, rescued their

native

native Liberties, and Rights of their Country, from the Oppression of that Tyrant. This Gentleman had the Title of *Marshal* given to him, which continued some Years. Afterward their Parliament, judging it best to resume the old Title, elected this Gentleman to be their *King*; and with him were brought in the Liberty of the Protestant Religion, and the Establishment of the Civil Rights of that People, which have continued in a prosperous Condition ever since unto this Day.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

April.

'Sir, I shall make no other Application; but, in my Prayers to God, to direct your Highness and the Parliament (as I hope he will) to do that which will be most for his Honour, and the Good of his People.'

April 23. This Day the Parliament ordered the Serjeant at Arms to summon the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, and all the Lawyers in *Westminster-Hall*, who were Members of the House, to attend immediately; which being done, the Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke* made a Report of the foregoing Business, and the House voted their Approbation of the Proceedings of the Committee therein.

The foregoing
Conference be-
ing reported to
the House,

The rest of this Month was almost wholly spent by the Parliament, in canvassing their humble Petition and Advice, without hearing any further from the Lord Protector on that Subject: Insomuch that, on the 30th, the Committee was ordered to wait upon him with their several Resolutions touching that Matter, and to desire his Highness to appoint a Time when the House might attend on him for his positive Answer.

The Committee
wait upon the
Protector again
for a Definitive
Answer.

In consequence hereof, the first of *May* was appointed for that Purpose, and afterwards the sixth; then the seventh, at Eleven in the Morning, which was again deferred to Five that Afternoon; when the Committee having attended the Lord Protector once more, he only excused himself for making them stay so long, and desired them to give him another Meeting the next Morning.

We

The Parliamentary HISTORY

We have been the more particularly exact and minute as to the Dates of the Committee's Proceedings, and their repeated Attendances upon the Lord Protector, because all these Delays of *Cromwell* are the strongest Demonstration of his deep-laid Policy; who, by refusing, at the first, to make any Objections to the Title of *King*, when offered him by the Parliament, till he had heard the Committee's Arguments in Favour of that Proposal; and then, by deferring his Answer, from Time to Time, fathom'd the Sentiments of all Parties, without discovering his own. However,

A Petition from several Officers of the Army, to the Parliament, against *Cromwell's* being made King.

May 8. The Lord-Commissioner *Whitlocke* reported, That his Highness desired the Parliament to meet him, presently, in the *Banqueting-House* at *Whitehall*.—But, before they could come to any Resolution thereupon, an Affair happened which put an End to all *Cromwell's* farther Evasions, and determined him to give a definitive Answer: For the *Journals* acquaint us, That the House being inform'd divers Officers of the Army were at the Door with a Petition, they were called in—But no mention being made, in those Authorities, of the Contents of this Paper, we shall supply the Deficiency from Mr. *Ludlow*, who writes, 'That some Officers of the Army, disgusted at the Proceedings of the Parliament, came to the Door of the House; and sent in a Message to General *Desborough*, signifying, That they had a Petition, which they desired him to present to the Speaker: But he knowing the Contents of it, and conceiving it unfit for him to take public Notice of it before it was presented, only acquainted the House, That certain Officers of the Army had a Petition to present to them: And every one supposing that the Sentiments of these Officers were conformable to their own, *Cromwell's* Party concluding that none of the Army durst appear for the crossing his Design, it was generally agreed that they should be called in, and have Leave to present their Petition with their own Hands. Lieutenant-Colonel *Mason* was chosen, by the

the rest of the Officers, to deliver it; which when he had done, and the Officers were withdrawn, the same was read to this Effect: 'That they had hazarded their Lives against Monarchy, and were still ready so to do, in Defence of the Liberties of their Country: That having observed, in some Men, great Endeavours to bring the Nation again under their old Servitude, by pressing their General to take upon him the Title and Government of a King, in order to destroy him, and weaken the Hands of those who were faithful to the Public; they therefore humbly desired the House to discountenance all such Persons and Endeavours, and continue stedfast to the old Cause, for the Preservation of which they, for their Parts, were most ready to lay down their Lives (a). This Petition was subscribed by two Colonels, seven Lieutenant-Colonels, eight Majors, and sixteen Captains, who, with such Officers in the House as were of the same Opinion, made up the Majority of those which were then quartered about the Town.'

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May.

'It was difficult (adds our Memorialist) to determine whether the House or *Cromwell* was most surprized at this unexpected Address; but, certainly, both were infinitely disturbed at it. As soon as the Notice of it was brought to him, he sent for Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, and told him, 'That he wondered he would suffer such a Petition to proceed so far, which might easily have been prevented, since he knew it to be his Resolution not to accept the Crown without the Consent of the Army; and therefore desired him to hasten to the House, and put them off from doing any Thing further therein. The Lieutenant-General immediately went thither, and told them, That the Petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answered

at

(a) This Petition was so distasteful to *Cromwell*, that all possible Means were used by Secretary *Thurloe* to prevent any Copies thereof being dispersed in *England*; Orders of the same kind were sent to General *Monk* in *Scotland*, and to *Henry Cromwell*, the Protector's second Son, then in *Ireland*.

Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

May.

at this Time, the Contents of it being to desire them not to press the Protector to be King; whereas the present Business was to receive his Answer to what had been formerly offered to him; and therefore he insisted that the Debate of it might be put off, for the present.

Mr. Ludlow's Account of the foregoing Affair stands confirmed by the *Journals*; in which it appears, That, the Petitioners being withdrawn, the House, without coming to any Resolution as to the Matter of the Petition, went to meet the Lord Protector at the *Banqueting House*, according to his Appointment: where he delivered his Sentiments to them in these Words:

Mr. Speaker,

In consequence of
which he refuses
that Title.

I Come hither to answer that which was in your last Paper to the Committee you sent to me, which was in relation to the Desires which were offered to me by the House, in what they called their Petition.

I confess, that Business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of Trouble, and spent much Time.

I am very sorry for that! It hath cost me some and some Thoughts; and because I have been the unhappy Occasion of the Expence of so much Time, I shall spend little of it now.

I have, the best I can, revolved the whole Business in my Thoughts; and I have said so much already in Testimony to the whole, that I think I shall not need to repeat any Thing that I have said. I think it is a Government that, in the Aims of it, seeks the settling the Nation on a good Foot, in relation to Civil Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Nation; And I hope I shall never be found to be one of them that shall go about to rob the Nation of those Rights, but to serve them what I can to the attaining of them.

It is also exceeding well provided there, for the Safety and Security of honest Men, in that

great, natural, and religious Liberty, which is Liberty of Conscience. These are the great Fundamentals; and I must bear my Testimony to them, as I have and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this World, that the Intentions and the Things are very honourable and honest, and the Product worthy of a Parliament: I have only had the Unhappiness, both in my Conferences with your Committees, and in the best Thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the Necessity of that Thing that hath been so often insisted on by you; to wit, the Title of King, as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May.

And yet I do, with all Honour and Respect to the Judgment of a Parliament, testify that (*cæteris paribus*) no private Judgment is to lie in the Balance with the Judgment of Parliament; but, in Things that respect particular Persons, every Man that is to give an Account to God of his Actions, must, in some Measure, be able to prove his own Work, and to have an Approbation, in his own Conscience, of that that he is to do, or to forbear: And whilst you are granting others their Liberties, surely you will not deny me this; it being not only a Liberty, but a Duty (and such a Duty as I cannot, without Sinning, forbear) to examine in my own Heart, and Thoughts, and Judgment, in every Work which I am to set my Hand to, or to appear in, or for.

I must confess, therefore, that though I do acknowledge all the other, yet I must be a little confident in this, That what with the Circumstances that accompany human Actions, whether they be Circumstances of Times or Persons; whether Circumstances that relate to the whole, or private, or particular Circumstances, that compass any Person that is to render an Account of his own Actions; I have truly thought and do still think, that if I should, at the best, do any Thing on this Account to answer your Expectation, at the best, I should do it doubtingly; and, certainly, what is

so,

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May.

‘so, is not of Faith; and whatsoever is not for
 ‘whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin to him that doth
 ‘it; whether it be with relation to the Substance
 ‘of the Action, about which that Consideration is
 ‘conversant, or whether to Circumstances about it,
 ‘which make all indifferent Actions good or evil:
 ‘I say Circumstances; and truly I mean good or
 ‘evil to him that doth it.

‘I, lying under this Consideration, think it my
 ‘Duty, only I could have wished I had done it
 ‘sooner, for the Sake of the House, who hath laid
 ‘so infinite Obligations on me; I wish I had done
 ‘it sooner, for your Sake, and saving Time and
 ‘Trouble; and indeed for the Committee’s Sake,
 ‘to whom I must acknowledge publicly I have
 ‘been unreasonably troublesome: I say I could have
 ‘wished I had given it sooner: But truly, this is
 ‘my Answer, That (although I think the Govern-
 ‘ment doth consist of very excellent Parts, in all
 ‘but in that one Thing the Title, as to me) I
 ‘should not be an honest Man if I should not tell
 ‘you, that I cannot accept of the Government nor
 ‘undertake the Trouble and Charge of it, which
 ‘I have a little more experimented than every
 ‘Body, what Troubles and Difficulties do befall
 ‘Men under such Trusts, and in such Undertakings:
 ‘I say I am persuaded to return this Answer to you,
 ‘That I cannot undertake the Government with
 ‘the Title of *King*: And that is my Answer to this
 ‘great and weighty Business.’

Notwithstanding *Cromwell’s* refusing the Title of
King, with such seeming Earnestness, it appears,
 upon the Evidence of Mr. *Whitlocke* and Secretary
Thurloe, ‘That the Protector was not only fully
 satisfied in his own private Judgment, that it was fit
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(a) *Memorials*, p. 646.—*Ludlow*, Vol. II. p. 583, et seq.—*Bur-*
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(b) *Welwood’s Memoirs*, p. 115.

Crown was actually made ready; and it appears by several original Letters since published (c), that not only the Protector's own Family, but even the sagacious *Thurloe*, was captivated with the Glare of his Master's expected Monarchy.—— And altho' all Historians agree that *Cromwell's* Fear of the Resentment of the principal Officers in his Army, (who might hope to succeed him as Protector in their Turn) the Sollicitations of the Republicans, and the suspected Fury of the various Enthusiasts of the Times (d), did, without Doubt, principally contribute to this Piece of Self-Denial; yet it is observable, from the whole Conduct of the Committee in the foregoing Conference, that their Aim was rather to restore the Constitution, than to pay a Personal Compliment to *Cromwell*: And had he accepted the Title of *King*, his own Deposal might possibly have made Way for the Restoration of the *Stuart* Family; since, if the Government must have been vested in a *King*, the Nation would probably have chosen rather to submit to the Family of their ancient Monarchs, than to one who had been so lately their Fellow-Subject; and the rather since such a Revolution would have delivered the Kingdom from the terrible Consequences of a disputed Title between a *King de Jure* and a *King de Facto*.—— How far the Jealousy of such a Turn might contribute to *Cromwell's* Determination, is Matter of Speculation; but this Conjecture will, perhaps, be allowed to have some Weight, when it is remembered that not one of the Orators of the Committee, except Mr. *Eisle*, had any Concern in the Trial of King *Charles* the First; and even he did not sign the bloody Warrant; and that most of the others had been secluded by the Army in *December*, 1648, before the Judicial Process was commenced against that unhappy Prince. To this may be added, That Lord *Clarendon* (e), though he says that many of the Cavaliers were struck with Horror at the Proposal for advancing *Cromwell* to the Crown, as tearing up

Inter-regnum.
1657.

May.

(c) *Thurloe's State Papers*, Vol. VI. p. 237, 292, 310.

(d) *Nicholls's Collection of Letters*, &c. p. 139 to 144.

(e) *History*, Vol. VI. p. 589.

Inter-regnum,

1657.

May.

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Inter-regnum.
1657.

May.

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(d) *Nicholls's Collection of Letters*, &c. p. 139 to 144.

(e) *History*, Vol. VI. p. 589.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May.

all future Hopes of the Royal Family by the Roots, yet he admits that Nobody was forwarder in that Acclamation than very many of the King's Party, who really believed that the making *Cromwell* King, for the present, was the best Expedient for the Restoration of his Majesty; and that the Army and the whole Nation would then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit of a false, Sovereign, whose Hypocrisy and Tyranny being now detected and known, would be the more detested.

But to return :

And the Parliament agree to style him Lord Protector, with certain Limitations of his Power.

In canvassing and debating the foregoing Speech of the Lord Protector, the Office of *Kingship*, which they had put into their humble Petition and Advice, and which he had, now, artfully refused to accept, came in Question; and on the 19th of this Month the House resolved, on a Division of 77 against 45, that the Words *Lord Protector* should be inserted instead of that of *King*.

It is observable, that in the foregoing Conferences between *Cromwell* and the Committee, the principal Arguments urged for his being King, were grounded upon a just Apprehension of the Inconveniences which might arise to the public from the Governments being vested in a Title unknown to the Constitution. The Monarchical Party therefore, being over-ruled in this Question, insisted, that, as the House had thought fit to change the Name of *King* into that of *Protector*, a Committee might be appointed to whom it should be referred to consider how that Title might be bounded, limited, and circumstantiated. This being too reasonable a Proposal to suffer a Negative, a Committee was appointed accordingly; nevertheless when they made their Report, on the 22d, the Question for agreeing thereto was carried by a Majority of only 53 Voices against 50; which confirmed the Suspicion that those who opposed *Cromwell's* being King, sought to render him more absolute as *Protector*. However, the Question for agreeing with the Committee being carried

carried, the House then resolved, That instead of the Paragraph in their Petition, running thus; *That your Highness will be pleased to assume the Name, Style, Title, Dignity, and Office of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the respective Dominions and Territories thereto belonging; and to exercise the same according to the Laws of these Nations; this Clause be inserted: That your Highness will be pleased, by and under the Name and Style of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, to hold and exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate of these Nations; and to govern according to this Petition and Advice in all Things therein contained, and, in all other Things, according to the Laws of these Nations, and not otherwise.*

Inter-regnum
1657.
May.

This knotty Point being thus smoothed, put an End to all farther Debates on the Parliament's Petition and Advice; and it was ordered to be engrossed fair as soon as possible. On the 25th, the Day appointed by Cromwell to receive it, he came down to *Westminster*; and sending for the House to attend him in the *Painted Chamber*, the Speaker presented the same to his Highness, acquainting him with the Alterations made therein; and then the whole was read in the following Terms:

To his Highness the LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging,

The HUMBLE PETITION and ADVICE of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and BURGESSES now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth.

WE the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in this present Parliament assembled, taking into our most serious Consideration the present State of these three Nations, joined and united under your Highness's Protection, cannot but, in the first Place, with all Thankfulness acknowledge the wonderful Mercy of

Their Humble
Petition and Advice,
presented
to his Highness.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May.

Almighty God, in delivering us from that Tyranny and Bondage, both in our Spiritual and Civil Concernments, which the late King and his Party designed to bring us under, and pursued the effecting thereof by a long and bloody War; and also that it hath pleased the same gracious God to preserve your Person in many Battles, to make you an Instrument for preserving our Peace, although environed with Enemies abroad, and filled with turbulent, restless, and unquiet Spirits in our own Bowels; that as in the treading down the common Enemy, and restoring us to Peace and Tranquillity, the Lord hath used you so eminently, and the worthy Officers and Soldiers of the Army, whose Faithfulness to the common Cause, we and all good Men shall ever acknowledge, and put a just Value upon; so also that he will use you and them in the settling and securing our Liberties, as we are Men and Christians, to us and our Posterity after us; which are those great and glorious Ends which the good People of these Nations have so freely, with the Hazard of their Lives and Estates, so long and earnestly contended for: We consider likewise the continual Danger which your Life is in, from the bloody Practices, both of the malignant and discontented Party, (one whereof, thro' the Goodness of God, you have been lately delivered from) it being a received Principle amongst them, That no Order being settled in your Life-time for the Succession in the Government; nothing is wanting to bring us into Blood and Confusion, and them to their desired Ends, but the Destruction of your Person; and in case Things should thus remain at your Death, we are not able to express what Calamities would, in all human Probability, ensue thereupon, which we trust your Highness, as well as we, do hold yourself obliged to provide against; and not to leave a People, whose common Peace and Interest you are entrusted with, in such a Condition as may hazard both, especially in this Conjunction, when there seems to be an Opportunity of coming to a Settlement upon just and legal Foundations. Upon these Considerations, we have judged it a Duty incumbent

cumbent upon us to present and declare these our most just and necessary Desires to your Highness.

Inter-regnum.
16. 7.

May.

I. That your Highness will be pleased, by and under the Name and Style of the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, to hold and exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate of these Nations, and to govern according to this Petition and Advice, in all Things therein contained, and in all other Things according to the Laws of these Nations, and not otherwise: That your Highness will be pleased, during your Life-time, to appoint and declare the Person who shall, immediately after your Death, succeed you in the Government of these Nations.

II. That your Highness will, for the future, be pleased to call Parliaments, consisting of two Houses, (in such Manner and Way as shall be more particularly agreed and afterwards declared in this Petition and Advice) once in three Years at farthest, or oftner as the Affairs of the Nation shall require, that being your great Council, and in whose Affection and Advice yourself and this People will be most safe and happy.

III. That the antient and undoubted Liberties and Privileges of Parliament (which are the Birthright and Inheritance of the People, and wherein every Man is interested) be preserved and maintained; and that you will not break or interrupt the same, nor suffer them to be broken or interrupted; and particularly, that those Persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of the People to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from sitting in Parliament to do their Duties, but by Judgment and Consent of that House whereof they are Members.

IV. That those who have advised, assisted, or abetted the Rebellion of Ireland, and those who do or shall profess the Popish Religion, be disabled and made incapable for ever to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to sit or serve in Parliament; and that all and every Person and Persons who have aided, abetted, advised, or assisted in any

The Parliamentary HISTORY

War against the Parliament, since the first Day of January, 1641, (unless he or they have since borne Arms for the Parliament or your Highness, or otherwise given signal Testimony of his or their good Affection to the Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the same); and all such as have been actually engaged in any Plot, Conspiracy, or Design against the Person of your Highness, or in any Insurrection or Rebellion in England or Wales since the 16th Day of December, 1653, shall be for ever disabled and made incapable to be elected, or give any Vote in the Election of any Member to sit or serve in Parliament. That for Scotland none be capable to elect, or be elected to sit or serve in Parliament, who have been in Arms against the Parliament of England, or against the Parliament in Scotland before the first Day of April, 1648, (except such as have since borne Arms in the Service of the Parliament of England or your Highness, or given other signal Testimony of their good Affection) nor any that, since the said first Day of April, 1648, have been in Arms, or otherwise aided, abetted, advised, or assisted in any War against the Parliament of England or your Highness, except such as, since the first Day of March, 1651, Old Style, have lived peaceably, and thereby given Testimony of their good Affection to the Parliament and your Highness.

Provided, That nothing in this Article contained, shall extend to put any Incapacity upon any English or Scots Protestants in Ireland, either to elect or be elected to serve in Parliament, who before the first Day of March, 1649, have borne Arms for the Parliament, or your Highness, or otherwise given signal Testimony of their good Affection to this Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the same: That all Votes and Elections, given or made contrary, or not according to the Qualifications aforesaid, shall be void and of none Effect; and that if any Person or Persons, so incapable as aforesaid, shall give his or their Vote for Election of Members to serve in Parliament, all and every such Person and Persons so electing, shall lose and forfeit one Year's Value of his
and

and their respective Real Estates, and one full third Part of his and their respective Personal Estates; the one Moiety thereof to your Highness, and the other Moiety to him or them who shall sue for the same, in any Court of Record, by Action of Debt, Bill, Complaint, or Information, wherein no Essoign, Wager of Law, or Protection shall be allowed. And that the Persons who shall be elected to serve in Parliament, be such, and none other than such, as are Persons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Conversation, and being of the Age of Twenty-one Years; and not such as are disabled by the Act of the seventeenth Year of the late King, intituled, An Act for disabling all Persons in Holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority, nor such as are public Ministers, or public Preachers of the Gospel: Nor such as are guilty of any of the Offences mentioned in an Act of Parliament, bearing Date the ninth of August, 1650, intituled, An Act against several atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable Opinions derogatory to the Honour of God, and destructive to human Society. No common Scoffer, nor Reviler of Religion or of any Person or Persons for professing thereof; no Person that hath married or shall marry a Wife of the Popish Religion; or hath trained or shall train up his Child or Children, or any other Child or Children under his Tuition or Government, in the Popish Religion, or that shall permit or suffer such Child or Children to be trained up in the said Religion; or that hath given or shall give his Consent that his Son or Daughter shall marry any of that Religion: No Person that shall deny the Scriptures to be the Word of God, or the Sacraments, Prayer, Magistracy, and Ministry to be the Ordinances of God; no common Profaner of the Lord's Day, nor profane Swearer or Curser, no Drunkard or common Haunter of Taverns or Ale-houses. And that these Qualifications may be observed, and yet the Privilege of Parliament maintain'd, we desire that it may be, by your Highness's Consent, ordained, That forty-one Commissioners be appointed by Act of Parliament, who, or any fifteen or

The Parliamentary HISTORY

more of them, shall be authorized to examine and try whether the Members, to be elected for the House of Commons in future Parliaments, be capable to sit, according to the Qualifications mentioned in this Petition and Advice; and in case they find them not qualified accordingly, then to suspend them from sitting untill the House of Commons shall, upon hearing of their particular Cases, admit them to sit; which Commissioners are to stand so authorized, for that End, untill the House of Commons, in any future Parliament, shall nominate the like Number of other Commissioners in their Places; and those other Commissioners, so to be nominated in any future Parliament, to have the same Powers and Authorities. That the said Commissioners shall certify, in Writing, to the House of Commons, on the first Day of their Meeting, the Causes and Grounds of their Suspension of any Persons so to be elected as aforesaid: That the Accusation shall be upon the Oath of the Informer, or some other Person: That a Copy of the Accusation shall be left by the Party accusing, in Writing under his Hand, with the Party accused, or in his Absence, at his House in the County, City, or Town, for which he shall be chosen, if he have any such House; or if not, with the Sheriff of the County, if he be chosen for a County, or with the Chief Magistrate of the City or Borough for which he is chosen: And that the Number of Persons to be elected and chosen to sit and serve in Parliament, for England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Distribution of the Persons so chosen within the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of them respectively, may be according to such Proportions as shall be agreed upon and declared in this present Parliament.

V. That your Highness will consent, That none be called to sit and vote in the Other House, but such as are not disabled, but qualified according to the Qualifications mentioned in the former Article, being such as shall be nominated by your Highness, and approved by this House; and that they exceed not seventy in Number, nor be under the Number of forty, (whereof the Quorum to be twenty-one) who shall not give any
Vote

of ENGLAND.

135

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May.

Vote by Proxies; and that as many of them do die, or be legally removed, no new ones to be admitted to sit and Vote in their Rooms, but by Consent of the House itself: That the Other House do not proceed in any Civil Causes, except in Writs of Error, in Cases adjourned from inferior Courts into the Parliament for Difficulty, in Cases of Petitions against Proceedings in Courts of Equity, and in Cases of the Privileges of their own House; That they do not proceed in any Criminal Causes whatsoever, against any Person criminally, but upon an Impeachment of the Commons assembled in Parliament, and by their Consent: That they do not proceed in any Cause, either Civil or Criminal but according to the known Laws of the Land, and the due Course and Custom of Parliament; That no final Determinations or Judgments be by any Members of that House, in any Cause there depending, either Civil, Criminal, or Mix'd, as Commissioners or Delegates, to be nominated by that House; but all such final Determinations and Judgments to be by the House itself, any Law or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

VI. *That in all other Particulars which concern the calling and holding of Parliaments, your Highness will be pleased, That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept; and that no Laws be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, or new Laws, made but by Act of Parliament.*

VII. *And to the end there may be a constant Revenue for Support of the Government, and for the Safety and Defence of these Nations by Sea and Land, we declare our Willingness to settle forthwith a yearly Revenue of 1,300,000 l. whereof 1,000,000 l. for the Navy and Army, and 300,000 l. for the Support of the Government, and no Part thereof to be raised by a Land Tax; and this not to be altered without the Consent of the Three Estates in Parliament; and to grant such other Temporary Supplies, according as the Commons assembled in Parliament shall, from Time to Time, adjudge the Necessities of these Nations to require, and do pray your Highness, that it be declared and enacted, That no Charge be laid, nor no*

Inter-regnum.
1657.

May.

Person be compelled to contribute to any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, Tallage, Aid, or other like Charge without common Consent by Act of Parliament; which is a Freedom the People of these Nations ought, by the Laws, to inherit.

VIII. That none may be added or admitted to the Privy Council of your Highness or Successors, but such as are of known Piety, and undoubted Affection to the Rights of these Nations, and a just Christian Liberty in Matters of Religion, nor without Consent of the Council, to be afterwards approved by both Houses of Parliament; and shall not afterwards be removed, but by Consent of Parliament; but may, in the Intervals of Parliament, be suspended from the Exercise of his Place by your Highness or your Successors and the Council for just Cause; and that the Number of the Council shall not be above twenty-one, whereof the Quorum to be seven, and not under: As also that after your Highness's Death, the Commander in Chief under your Successors, of such Army or Armies as shall be necessary to be kept in England, Scotland, or Ireland, as also all such Field-Officers at Land, or Generals at Sea, which after that Time shall be newly made and constituted by your Successors, be by Consent of the Council, and not otherwise: And that the standing Forces of this Commonwealth shall be disposed of by the Chief Magistrate, by Consent of both Houses of Parliament, sitting the Parliament; and, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Chief Magistrate, with the Advice of the Council: And also that your Highness and Successors will be pleased to exercise your Government over these Nations by the Advice of your Council.

IX. And that the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, the Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury there, the Admiral, the Chief Governor of Ireland, the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal of Ireland, the Chief Justices of both the Benches, and the Chief Baron in England and Ireland, the Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland, and such Officers of State there, as, by Act of Parliament in Scotland, are to be approved by Parliament, and the Judges in Scotland here-
after

after to be made, shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

May.

X. And whereas your Highness, out of your Zeal to the Glory of God, and the Propagation of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath been pleased to encourage a Godly Ministry in these Nations; We earnestly desire that such as do openly revile them or their Assemblies, or disturb them in the Worship or Service of God, to the Dishonour of God, Scandal of good Men, or Breach of the Peace, may be punished according to Law: And where the Laws are defective, that your Highness will give Consent to such Laws as shall be made in that Behalf.

XI. That the true Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and no other, be held forth and asserted for the public Profession of these Nations: And a Confession of Faith to be agreed by your Highness and the Parliament, according to the Rule and Warrant of the Scriptures, be asserted, held forth, and recommended to the People of these Nations; that none may be suffered or permitted, by opprobrious Words or Writing, maliciously or contemptuously to revile or reproach the Confession of Faith to be agreed upon as aforesaid: And such who profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son the True God, and in the Holy Spirit, God co-equal with the Father and the Son, One God blessed for ever; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed Will and Word of God, and shall in other Things differ in Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, from the public Profession held forth, Endeavours shall be used to convince them, by sound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Conversation: But that they may not be compelled thereto by Penalties, nor restrained from their Profession; but protected from all Injury and Molestation in the Profession of the Faith, and Exercise of their Religion, whilst they abuse not this Liberty to the civil Injury of others, or the Disturbance of the public Peace; so that this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, or to the Countenancing such who publish horrible Blasphemies

Inter-regnum.
1657.

May.

phemies, or practise or hold forth Licentiousness or Profaneness under the Profession of Christ: And that those Ministers or public Preachers, who shall agree with the public Profession aforesaid in Matters of Faith, although in their Judgment and Practice they differ in Matters of Worship and Discipline, shall not only have Protection in the Way of their Churches and Worship respectively, but be esteemed fit and capable, (notwithstanding such Difference, being otherwise duly qualified and duly approved) of any Trust, Promotion, or Employment whatsoever in these Nations, that any Ministers who agree in Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline with the public Profession aforesaid are capable of; and all others who agree with the public Profession in Matters of Faith, although they differ in Matters of Worship and Discipline as aforesaid, shall not only have Protection as aforesaid, but be esteemed fit and capable (notwithstanding such Difference, being otherwise duly qualified) of any Civil Trust, Employment, or Promotion in these Nations: But for such Persons who agree not in Matters of Faith with the public Profession aforesaid, they shall not be capable of receiving the public Maintenance appointed for the Ministry. Provided, That this Clause shall not be construed to extend to enable such Ministers or public Preachers, or Pastors of Congregations, but that they be disabled, and they are hereby disabled, to hold any Civil Employment, which those in Orders were or are disabled to hold, by an Act, intitled, An Act for disabling all Persons in Holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority. And that your Highness will give your Consent, That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Clauses in any Law, Statute, and Ordinance, so far as they are contrary to the aforesaid Liberty, be repealed.

XII. That all Acts and Ordinances of Parliament made for the abolishing of Archbishops and Bishops, and for the abolishing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends, and other Offices and Titles of, or belonging to, any Cathedral or Collegiate Church or Chapel; and for the Sale or other Disposition

Disposition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments unto any, or either of them, belonging; or for the Sale or other Disposition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, or Prince; or of the Lands of Delinquents, Fee-Farm or other Rents, Forest-Lands, or any of them; or any other Lands, Tenements, Rents, or Hereditaments, lately belonging to the Commonwealth, shall no way be impeached, but that they do remain good and firm; and that the Security given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament, for any Sum or Sums of Monies, by any of the said Lands, the Excise, or by any other public Revenue; and also the Securities given by the Public Faith of the Nation, and the Engagement of the Public Faith for Satisfaction of Debts, may remain firm and good, and not be made void by any Pretence whatsoever.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

May.

XIII. That all and every Person and Persons, who have aided, abetted, advised, or assisted in any War, against the Parliament, since the first Day of January, 1641, (unless he or they have since borne Arms for the Parliament, or your Highness or otherwise given signal Testimony of his or their good Affection to the Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the same) and all such as have been actually engaged in any Plot, Conspiracy, or Design, against the Person of your Highness, or in any Insurrection or Rebellion, in England or Wales, since the 16th of December 1653. And for Scotland, that all and every Person and Persons, who have been in Arms against the Parliament of England, or against the Parliament in Scotland, before the first Day of April, 1648, (except such as have since borne Arms in the Service of the Parliament of England, or your Highness, or given other signal Testimony of their good Affection) and every Person or Persons that, since the said first Day of April, 1648, have been in Arms, or otherwise aided, abetted, advised, or assisted in any War against the Parliament of England, or your Highness (except such Persons, who, having been in Arms, or otherwise abetted, advised, or assisted in any War against the Parliament of England, or your Highness since the

The Parliamentary HISTORY

the first Day of April, 1648) and were not in Arms against the Parliament of England, or against the Parliament of Scotland, before the first Day of April, 1648, and have, since the first Day of March, 1651, Old Style, lived peaceably, and thereby given Testimony of their good Affection to the Parliament, and your Highness, be made incapable, for ever, of holding or enjoying of any Office or Place of public Trust in these three Nations, or any of them.

Provided, That nothing in this Article contained shall extend to put any Incapacity in this Article mentioned, upon any English or Scots Protestants in Ireland, who, before the first Day of March, 1649, have borne Arms for the Parliament or your Highness, or otherwise given signal Testimony of their good Affection to this Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the same.

XIV. And that your Highness will be pleased to consent, That nothing in this Petition and Advice contained, nor your Highness's Assent thereto, shall be construed to extend to the dissolving of this present Parliament; but that the same shall continue and remain, until such Time as your Highness shall think fit to dissolve the same.

XV. And that nothing contained in this Petition and Advice, nor your Highness's Consent thereunto, shall be construed to extend to the repealing or making void of any Act or Ordinance which is not contrary hereunto, or to the Matters herein contained; but that the said Acts and Ordinances, not contrary hereunto, shall continue and remain in Force, in such Manner as if this present Petition and Advice had not at all been had or made, or your Highness's Consent thereunto given.

XVI. And that all Writs issued out of the Chancery, and all Writs and Patents of the Justices of the one Bench and of the other, Barons of the Exchequer, Commissions of Oyer and Terminer, Goal-Delivery, and Justices of the Peace, and all other Commissions, Patents, and Grants, made and passed under the Great Seal of England, Scotland, or Ireland, shall stand good and effectual in the Law, notwithstanding this

this Petition and Advice, or your Highness's Assent thereunto, or any Law, Statute, or Custom to the contrary: And that all Writs, and all Commissions, Indictments, Informations, Proceſs, Actions, Suits, Bills or Plaints, taken out, or now depending, in any Court of Record at Westminster, or any other Court of Record in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or in the Town of Berwick upon Tweed; and all Proceſs, Pleas, Demurrers, Continuances, and Proceedings, in every such Writs, Indictments, Informations, Actions, Suits, Bills, and Plaints, shall be returnable, stand good and effectual, and be prosecuted and sued forth, in such Manner and Form, and in the same State, Condition, and Order, the Style and Test of Proceedings, after passing of these Presents, being made conformable thereunto; this present Petition and Advice, or your Highness's Assent thereunto, or any Law, Custom, or Usage to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding: And that any Variance that shall be occasioned by reason thereof, touching any of the said Writs, Proceſs, or Proceedings, in the Name, Style, Teste, or otherwise, shall not be in any wise material as concerning any Default or Error to be alledged or objected thereunto.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May.

XVII. And that your Highness and your Successors will be pleased to take an Oath, in such Form as shall be agreed upon by your Highness and this present Parliament, to govern these Nations according to the Law.

And in case your Highness shall not be satisfied to give your Consent to all the Matters and Things in this Humble Petition and Advice, that then nothing in the same be deemed of Force, to oblige the People of these Nations, in any the Particulars therein contained.

And these our Desires being granted by your Highness, we shall hope, through the rich Mercy and Goodness of God, that it will prove some Remedy to those Dangers, Distractions, and Distempers which these Nations are now in, and be an effectual Means to remove those Jealousies and Fears which remain in the Minds of many Men concerning the Government of this Commonwealth; and thereby we shall be enabled
and

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May,

and encouraged, with all Cheerfulness, to the settling of such Things which shall be further necessary for the Good of these Nations; and be most ready to join with you in promoting the Work of Reformation happily begun by your Highness, the regulating Courts of Justice, and auridging both the Delays and Charges of Law Suits; and apply ourselves to such other Courses and Counsels as may be most like to heal our Breaches and Divisions, and to restore these poor Nations to a Union and Consistency with themselves, and to lay a Foundation of a further Confidence between your Highness and them, to the Rejoicing of the Hearts of our Friends, and Terror of our Enemies.

This being done, the Speaker, in the Name of the Parliament, desired his Highness's Consent to the whole; which was read, by the Clerk, in these Words, *The Lord Protector doth consent.*

After all which his Highness made the following Speech:

Mr. Speaker,

His Speech at giving his Consent thereto.

I Desire to offer a Word or two unto you; which shall be but a Word.
 I did well bethink myself before I came hither this Day, that I came not as to a Triumph, but with the most serious Thoughts that ever I had in in all my Life, to undertake one of the greatest Tasks that ever was laid upon the Back of a human Creature: And I make no Question but you will and so will all Men, readily agree with me that, without the Support of the Almighty, I shall necessarily sink under the Burden of it; not only with Shame and Reproach to myself, but (with that that is more a thousand Times, and in Comparison of which, I and my Family are not worthy to be mentioned) with the Loss and Prejudice of these three Nations.
 And, that being so, I must ask your Help, and the Help of all those that fear God, that, by their Prayers, I may receive Assistance from the Hand of God: His Presence, going along, will enable me

me to the Discharge of so great a Duty and Trust as this is, and nothing else can.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May.

Howbeit, I have some other Things to desire of you, I mean of the Parliament, That, seeing this is but, as it were, an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of these Nations; and forasmuch as there are many Things which cannot be supplied, for enabling me to the carrying on of this Work, without your Help and Assistance; I think it is my Duty to ask your Help in them. Not that I doubted; for I believe the same Spirit that hath led you to this, will easily suggest the rest to you.

The Truth is, and I can say in the Presence of God, that nothing would have induced me to have undertaken this unsupportable Burden to Flesh and Blood, had it not been that I have seen, in this Parliament, all along, a Care of doing all those Things that might truly and really answer the Ends that we have been engaged for. You have satisfied me of your Forwardness and Readiness therein fully already.

I thought it my Duty, when your Committee, which you were pleased to send to me, to give the Grounds and Reasons of your Proceedings to help to inform my Conscience and Judgment; I was then bold to offer to them several Considerations, which were received by them, and have been presented to you: In Answer to which the Committee did bring me several Resolves of yours, which I have by me. I think those are not yet made so authentic and authoritative as was desired: And therefore, though I cannot doubt it, yet I thought it my Duty to ask it of you, that there may be a Perfecting of those Things.

Indeed, as I said before, I have my Witness in the Sight of God, that nothing would have been an Argument to me (howsoever desirable great Places seem to be to other Men; I say nothing would have been an Argument to me) to have undertaken this; but, as I said before, I saw such Things determined by you, as makes clearly for the,

Inter-regnum.

1657.

May.

‘ the Liberties of the Nations, and for the Liberty,
 ‘ and Interest, and Preservation of all such as fear
 ‘ God; of all that fear God under various Forms;
 ‘ and, if God make not these Nations thankful to
 ‘ you, for your Care therein, it will fall as Fire
 ‘ on their Heads: And therefore I say that hath
 ‘ been one main Encouragement.

‘ I confess there are other Things that tend to
 ‘ Reformation, to the Discountenancing of Vice,
 ‘ to the Encouragement of good Men and Virtue,
 ‘ and the completing of those Things, also, concern-
 ‘ ing some of which you have not yet resolved any
 ‘ Thing; save to let me know, by your Commit-
 ‘ tee, that you would not be wanting in any Thing
 ‘ for the Good of these Nations. Nor do I speak
 ‘ it as in the least doubting it; but I do earnestly
 ‘ and heartily desire, to the end God may crown
 ‘ your Work, and bless you and this Government,
 ‘ that, in your own Time, and with what Speed
 ‘ you judge fit, these Things may be provided for.’

May 26. The House, after hearing the Report of
 this Speech, ordered, That all the Votes and Reso-
 lutions, relative to their Petition and Advice, should
 be referred to a Committee, to peruse and metho-
 dize them; and to prepare one or more Bills there-
 upon.

Admiral Blake
 having destroyed
 the Spanish Fleet
 at Santa Cruz.

The next Day Mr. Secretary *Thurloe* acquainted
 the House with the good Success the Lord had been
 pleased to vouchsafe to the Fleet of this Nation, un-
 der the Command of General *Blake*, at the Port of
Santa Cruz, on the Island of *Teneriffe*, on the 20th
 of *April* last; at which Time the said Fleet fell in
 with six *Spanish* Galleons, whereof were the Admi-
 ral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral, with their
 Standards and Flag aloft; and sixteen other consi-
 derable Ships, some having Goods brought from the
Indies on board them, others who had taken in
 Goods and Provisions to carry back again, most of
 them furnished with Brass Ordnance, and their full
 Companies of Seamen and Soldiers on board; all
 which were sunk, blown up, or destroyed. The
 Parliament

Particulars thereof being read (a), the House appointed the ensuing *Wednesday* to be set apart for a Day of publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God, throughout *London* and *Westminster*, on this glorious Occasion. They also voted the Sum of 500 *l.* to be laid out in the Purchase of a Jewel, to be presented to the Admiral as a Mark of Honour, and a Testimony of the Lord Protector and the Parliament's

Inter-regnum.
1657.
June.

The Parliament
vote him a Jewel
of 500 *l.* Value,
&c.

Resentment of his eminent and faithful Services for this Commonwealth. They likewise ordered a Letter of Thanks to the Admiral and Officers of the Fleet, and a Present of 100 *l.* to Capt. *Story*, who brought the News of this important Action.— But the gallant *Blake* lived not long enough to receive these Marks of the Parliament's Respect; dying on board his own Ship, on his Return to *England*, at the very Entrance of the Fleet into the Sound of *Plymouth*; and leaving behind him the Character of one of the greatest Admirals this Nation ever bred. His Corpse was brought up, by Land, to *London*, in great State; and *Cromwell*, to encourage his Officers to venture their Lives for their Country's Service, caused it to be interred with all possible Solemnity, in *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, amongst the Monuments of our Kings.— It is remarkable, that as this magnanimous Admiral lived at a Time when the Government was continually shifting from Form to Form, he constantly inculcated to the Sailors, *That it was no Concern of theirs to intermeddle in the Disputes at home, but to make it their sole Business to support the Honour and Interest of Great-Britain against Foreigners.* And to the Influence of this Maxim seems to be greatly owing the amazing Successes of the *British* Fleet abroad, while the Nation was torn with intestine Divisions at home.

But to return:—

On the 4th of *June*, the Committee appointed to consider of the Resolutions of the House, in relation

VOL. XXI.

K

to

(a) The Account of this Victory is amply related in *Hearb's Chronicle*, p. 391.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

June.

to their Petition and Advice, having made their Report, That they had thought it best to put the same by way of additional Articles thereto, they were read as follows :

To his Highness the LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.

The HUMBLE ADDITIONAL and EXPLANATORY PETITION and ADVICE of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, and BURGESSES now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth.

Their Humble
Additional and
Explanatory Pe-
tion and Advice
to the Lord Pro-
tector.

W Hereas, upon the Humble Petition and Advice of the said Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth, lately presented and consented unto by your Highness, certain Doubts and Questions have arisen, concerning some Particulars therein comprized ; for Explanation thereof, may it please your Highness to declare and consent unto the Additions and Explanations hereafter mentioned ; and may it be declared with your Highness's Consent,

In the FOURTH ARTICLE,

That such Person and Persons as invaded *England*, under the Duke of Hamilton, in the Year 1648, or advised, consented, assisted, or voluntarily contributed unto that War, and were, for that Cause, debarred from public Trust by the Parliament of *Scotland*, be incapable to elect, or be elected to sit and serve as Members of Parliament, or in any other Place of public Trust, relating unto the Fourth and Thirteenth Articles in the Petition and Advice ; excepting such as since have borne Arms for your Highness or the Parliament, or have been admitted to sit and serve in the Parliament of this Commonwealth, and are of good Life and Conversation ; or such as shall hereafter be declared by your Highness, with the Advice of your Council, to have given some signal Testimony of their good Affection and Continuance in the same.

That

That the Proviso in the said Fourth Article be explained thus, viz. That such English and Scots Protestants who (since the Defection of the Earl of Ormond and the Lord Inchiquin, and before the first Day of March, 1649) have borne Arms for, and ever since continued faithful to the Parliament or your Highness; or have otherwise, before the said first Day of March, 1649, given signal Testimony of their good Affection to this Commonwealib, and have ever since continued faithful to the same, shall not be debarred or deemed incapable of electing, or being elected to serve in Parliament.

Inter-regnum,
1657.
June.

And whereas, in the said Fourth Article, public Ministers, or public Preachers of the Gospel, are disabled to be elected to serve in Parliament; it is hereby explained and declared to extend to such Ministers and Preachers only as have Maintenance for Preaching, or are Pastors or Treachers of Congregations.

IN the said FOURTH ARTICLE.

That, instead of Commissioners to be appointed, by Act of Parliament, to examine and try whether the Members to be elected for the House of Commons, in future Parliaments, be capable to sit according to the Qualifications mentioned in the said Petition and Advice, there shall be the Penal y and Fine of 1000 l. laid and insisted upon every such unqualified Member, being so adjudged by the said House of Commons, and Imprisonment of his Person untill Payment thereof. And that all the Clauses for appointing such Commissioners be absolutely void.

IN the FIFTH ARTICLE.

That the Nomination of the Persons to supply the Place of such Members of the Other House as shall die, or be removed, shall be by your Highness and your Successors.

IN the SEVENTH ARTICLE.

That the Monies directed to be for the Supply of the Sea and Land Forces, be issued by Advice of the Council; and that the Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury shall give an Account of all the said Money to every Parliament.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

That the Officers of State and Judges, in the Ninth Article of the said Petition and Advice mentioned, shall be chosen, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Consent of the Council, to be afterwards approved by Parliament.

That your Highness will be pleased, according to the Usage of former Chief Magistrates in these Nations, and for the better Satisfaction of the People thereof, to take an Oath in the Form ensuing :

I Do, in the Presence, and by the Name, of God Almighty, promise and swear, That, to the uttermost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament (*b*), to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same: And that, to the uttermost of my Power, I will endeavour, as Chief Magistrate of these Three Nations, the Maintenance and Preservation of the Peace and Safety, and of the just Rights and Privileges of the People thereof: And shall in all Things, according to my best Knowledge and Power, govern the People of these Nations according to Law.

That your Highness's Successors do, before they take upon them the Government of these Nations, take an Oath in the Form aforesaid.

That all such Persons who now are, or shall hereafter be, of the Privy Council of your Highness or Successors, before they, or either of them, do act as Counsellors, shall respectively take an Oath, before Persons

to

(*b*) The Words in the *Italic* Character were added by Cromwell's own Desire, when the Committee appointed to draw up the Form of this Oath waited upon him with a Copy thereof, by Order of the House, on the 25th of June. The same Day it was resolved, That the said Oath be engrossed in a Roll of Vellum; and an Entry made thereupon, of the Time and Place of his Highness's taking thereof: And that the same do remain, as a Record of Parliament, to be made use of in future Times: And be also recorded in the four Courts of Westminster, viz. the Chancery, Upper-Bench, Common-Pleas, and Exchequer.

to be authorized by your Highness and Successors for that Purpose, in the Form following :

Inter-regnum.
1657.

June.

I A. B. do, in the Presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power, in my Place, I will uphold, and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same: And that I will be true and faithful to his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto respectively belonging, as Chief Magistrate thereof: And shall not contrive, design, or attempt any Thing, against the Person or lawful Authority of his said Highness; and shall keep secret all Matters that shall be treated of in Council, and put under Secrecy, and not reveal them but by Command or Consent of his Highness, the Parliament, or the Council; and shall in all Things faithfully perform the Trust committed to me as a Counsellor, according to the best of my Understanding, in order to the good Government, Peace, and Welfare, of these Nations.

That the same Oath be taken by the Members of your Highness's Council of Scotland and Ireland.

That every Person who now is, or hereafter shall be, a Member of either House of Parliament, before he sit in Parliament, shall, from and after the first Day of July, 1657, take an Oath before Persons to be authorized and appointed by your Highness and Successors for that Purpose, in the Form following :

I A. B. do in the Presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power in my Place, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the

Inter-regnum.

1657.

June.

same: And that I will be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, as Chief Magistrate thereof; and shall not contrive, design, or attempt any Thing, against the Person or lawful Authority of the Lord Protector, and shall endeavour as much as in me lies, as a Member of Parliament, the Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the People.

That your Highness would be pleased, in convenient Time, before the next Meeting of this Parliament, to cause several Summons, in due Form of Law, to be issued forth to such Persons as your Highness shall think fit, (being qualified according to the humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament, whereto your Highness hath consented) to sit and serve as Members in the Other House of Parliament; by which Summons the said Persons shall be respectively commanded to be, and personally to appear, at a certain Place and Time, to be appointed by your Highness, to give their Advice and Assistance, and to do such Things concerning the great and weighty Affairs of this Commonwealth, as to the Other House of Parliament doth appertain, by the said humble Petition and Advice.

That the Persons so summoned and assembled together, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, the Other House of Parliament; and shall and may, without further Approbation of this House, from such Time of their Meeting, proceed to do and perform all such Matters and Things, as the Other House of Parliament ought to do and perform; and shall and may, have and exercise, all such Privileges, Powers and Authorities, as the Other House of Parliament ought, by the aforesaid humble Petition and Advice, to have and exercise; the said humble Petition and Advice, or any Thing therein contained, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

The Rising of the Parliament being now near at Hand, and many Bills got ready for the Lord Protector's Assent, the 9th of this Month was appointed for

for that Purpose. About Eleven o'Clock that Day, the House received a Message from his Highness, signifying that he was then in the *Painted-Chamber*, and desired to speak with them there. Accordingly the Speaker, attended by the whole House, went up thither; and after a pithy and short Speech, (as the *Journals* express it) touching the deliberate and grave Proceedings of this Parliament, did, in their Name, present his Highness with three Bills for an Assessment towards defraying the Charges of the *Spanish War*, and other Occasions of the Commonwealth (*b*); together with divers other Bills, some of a public, and others of a private, Concernment; being but, as he styled them, Grapes preceding the full Vintage.

In the Afternoon, the House being met again, the Speaker reported the Lord Protector's Speech, made that Morning, upon presenting the Bills, which was to this Effect:

Mr. Speaker,

I Perceive that, among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great Care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary Support of the Commonwealth, by those Bills for the levying of Money, now brought to me, which I have given my Consent unto.

His Speech at passing Money Bills.

Understanding it hath been the Practice of those who have been Chief Governors, to acknowledge, with Thanks to the Commons, their Care and Regard of the Public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their Kindness herein.

The House was still busied, in several Committees, about framing divers Bills, both public and private; and so continued every Day, Morning and Afternoon, without any thing intervening worth

(*b*) The Bills here referred to, were for laying an Assessment of 35,000 *l.* per *Mensem* upon England, 6000 *l.* upon Scotland, and 9000 *l.* upon Ireland, for three Years, from the 24th of June 1657, which is modestly styled a Temporary Supply towards the Maintenance of the Armies and Navies of this Commonwealth.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

June.

worth Notice, till the 25th of this Month: At which Time, having resolved upon a solemn Investiture of their Lord Protector into his Office, they gave Orders for a Robe of Purple Velvet lined with Ermine, a Bible, a Scepter of massy Gold, and a Sword of State, to be provided for his Highness's Investiture.

The next Day, *June 26*, Sir *Oliver Flemyng*, Master of the Ceremonies, was ordered to wait upon the several foreign Ambassadors and public Ministers of State, and invite them to be present at the Ceremonial, which was performed with great State and Magnificence.

There is but a very lame Account of this new Piece of State Pageantry in the *Journals*, or *Contemporary Writers*: We therefore think proper, since this Affair was transacted in Parliament, the Speaker and the whole House attending, to exhibit the Narrative thereof at large, as published by the Protector's Authority.

An exact RELATION of the Manner of the solemn INVESTITURE, or happy INAUGURATION, of his Highness the LORD PROTECTOR at Westminster (d).

The Manner of
Cromwell's being
invested Lord
Protector by the
Parliament.

*F*riday the 26th of *June*, being agreed upon for the Investiture of his Highness the Lord Protector, and a large Place being raised and prepared at the upper End of *Westminster-Hall* for that Purpose, there

(d) the Frontispiece, engraved by *Hollar*, is a Representation of the Manner of the Speaker's presenting a Sceptre and Bible to *Cromwell*; the Sword of State, and the Purple Robe, lying upon a Table before him.

Lord Clarendon (Vol. VI. p. 597) represents the Solemnity of *Cromwell's* Inauguration as the Effect of his own personal Contrivance and Management; adding, That the Parliament had not only not provided for the Formality thereof, but that they had not indeed considered of it; thinking enough had been done already for him. This appears, by the *Journals*, to be a great Mistake; for the Parliament actually appointed for a Committee on purpose to provide for and marshal the Ceremonial of the Inauguration. The *Contemporary Historians* have fallen into many Errors, which have been implicitly followed by later Writers, for want of consulting those Fountains of Authority, the *Journals* of Parliament.

there was in the Midst thereof, under the great Window, a rich Cloth of State set up, and under it a Chair of State placed upon an Ascent of two Degrees, covered with Carpets; and before it a Table, with a Chair appointed for Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, the Speaker of the Parliament; and on each Side of the Hall, upon the said Structure, were Seats raised one above another, and decently cover'd for the Members of Parliament; and below them Seats on one Side, for the Lords the Judges of the Land, and on the other Side, for the Aldermen of the City of *London*.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

June.

About Two of the Clock in the Afternoon his Highness came from *Whitehall* by Water, and landing at the Parliament Stairs, went up into the Chamber called the Lords House; where having retired himself a-while, Mr. Speaker and the Members of Parliament being come to the Painted-Chamber, his Highness attended by his Council, the Officers of State, and the Judges, met them; and gave his Consent to the Additional and Explanatory Petition and Advice of the Parliament, to a Bill for an Adjournment thereof to the 20th of *January* next, and to all such other Bills as were then presented to him.

From thence the Speaker, with the Members of Parliament, departed to the great Hall at *Westminster*, where they seated themselves in the Places provided for them.

His Highness, after a short Retirement in a Room near the Painted-Chamber, returned into the House of Lords; the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the two Lords Chief Justices, the Master of the Rolls, and the Judges, in the Interim, placing themselves on one Side of the said House; and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the City of *London*, on the other. From the said House his Highness passed towards the Hall in the Manner following:

In the first Place went his Highness's Gentleman and other Persons of Quality; next, an Officer

of

Inter-regnum.

1657.

June.

of Arms going before the Recorder and Aldermen of *London* in their Scarlets; next, another Officer of Arms went before Mr. Attorney-General and the Lords the Judges in their Robes and Order; next them, *Norroy*, King of Arms; then four Serjeants at Arms, with their Maces, going before the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and of the Great Seal, (the Lord-Commissioner *Fiennes* bearing the Seal) and the Lord President of his Highness's Council; then came Garter, principal King of Arms, before the Earl of *Warwick*, who bore the Sword before his Highness; on whose Left Hand went the Lord Mayor of *London*, by his Highness's special Favour, bearing the City Sword; after whom came his Highness being attended by his Council, the Principal Secretary of State, and divers of the Nobility and other Persons of great Quality.

His Highness being entered on the Place, and standing under the Cloth of State, Mr. Speaker did, in the Name of the Parliament, present several Things, ready laid upon the Table, to his Highness, *viz.* A Robe of Purple Velvet, lined with Ermine, being the Habit antiently used at the solemn Investiture of Princes; next, a large Bible, richly gilt and boss'd; next, a Sword; and, lastly, a Sceptre, being of massy Gold; which being so presented, Mr. Speaker came from his Chair, took the Robe, and therewith vested his Highness, being assisted therein by the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Whitlocke*, and others: Which being done, the Bible was delivered unto his Highness; after that, Mr. Speaker girt about him the Sword; and, lastly, delivered his Highness the Sceptre.

These Things being performed, Mr. Speaker returned unto his Chair, and administered to the Lord Protector the Oath, prepared by the Parliament, for that Purpose (*f*); which he having taken, the Speaker addressed himself to his Highness in the following Speech:

May

(*f*) Here follows the Form of the Oath, already given at p. 143.

May it please your Highness,

Inter-regnum.
1657.

June.

YOU are now upon a great Theatre, in a large Choe of People. You have the Parliament of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* before you; on your Right Hand my Lords the Judges; and on your Left Hand the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *Lonaon*, the most noble and populous City of *England*. The Parliament, with the Interposition of your Suffrage, makes Laws; and the Judges and Governors of *London* are the great Dispensers of those Laws to the People.

The Occasion of this great Convention and Intercourse, is to give an Investiture to your Highness in that eminent Place of Lord Protector: A Name you had before; but it is now settled by the full an unanimous Consent of the People of these Three Nations assembled in Parliament. You have no new Name, but a new Date added to the old Name; the 16th of *December* is now changed to the 26th of *June*.

I am commanded, by the Parliament, to make Oblation to your Highness of four Things, in order to this Inauguration.

The first is a Robe of Purple; an Emblem of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice: When you have put on this Vestment, I may say (and I hope without Offence) that you are a Gown-Man. This Robe is of a mixed Colour, to shew the Mixture of Justice and Mercy, which are then most excellent when they are well tempered together. Justice without Mercy is Wormwood and Bitterness; and Mercy without Justice is of too soft a Temper for Government: For a Magistrate must have two Hands, *placulentem et amplectentem*.

The next Thing is a Bible; a Book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the Honour and Happiness to be well versed. This is the Book of Life, consisting of two Testaments, the Old and New. In the first we have *Christum velatum*, Christ in Types, Shadows, and Figures; in the latter we have *Christum revelatum*, Christ revealed.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

June.

vealed. This Book carries in it the Grounds of the true Christian Protestant Religion ; it is a Book of Books ; it contains in it both Precepts and Examples for good Government.

‘ Alexander so highly valued the Books of his Master Aristotle, and other great Princes other Books, that they have laid them every Night under their Pillows. These are all but Legends and Romances to this one Book ; a Book to be had always in Remembrance ; I find it is said in a Part of this Book, which I shall desire to read, and it is this :

Deut. xvii. *And it shall be when he sitteth upon the Throne of his Kingdom, that he shall write a Copy of this Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests and Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the Days of his Life, that he may learn to fear the Lord God, and to keep all the Words of his Law, and those Statutes, to do them.*

That his Heart be not lifted up above his Brethren ; and that he turn not aside from the Commandment, to the Right Hand, or to the Left, to the end he may prolong his Days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the midst of Israel.

‘ The next Thing that I am to offer to your Highness is a Sceptre, not unlike a Staff ; for you are to be a Staff to the Weak and Poor. ’Tis of antient Use in this Kind ; ’tis said in Scripture, in reference to Judah, the Royal Tribe, *That the Sceptre shall not depart from Judah.* It was of like Use in other Kingdoms and Governments : Homer, the Prince of the Greek Poets, calls Kings and Princes Sceptre Bearers.

‘ The last Thing is a Sword, not a Military, but a Civil Sword ; a Sword rather for Defence than Offence ; not to defend yourself only, but others also. This Sword is an Emblem of Justice. The Noble Lord Talbot, in Henry the Sixth’s Time, wrote upon his Sword, *Ego sum Talboti propter occidendum Inimicos meos* ; this gallant Lord was a better Soldier than a Critic. If I might presume to

fix

fix a Motto upon this Sword, it should be this, *Ego sum Domini Protectoris, ad protegendum Populum meum.* Inter-regnum.
1657.
June.

‘ I say, this Sword is an Emblem of Justice, and is to be used as King *Solomon* used his, for the Discovery of the Truth in Points of Justice. I may say of this Sword as King *David* said of *Goliath’s* Sword, *There is none like this.* Justice is the proper Virtue of the Imperial Throne, and by Justice the Thrones of Kings and Princes are established. Justice is a Royal Virtue ; which, as one saith of it, doth employ the other three cardinal Virtues in her Service.

1. ‘ Wisdom, to discern the Nocent from the Innocent.

2. ‘ Fortitude, to prosecute and execute.

3. ‘ Temperance, so to carry Justice that Passion be no Ingredient, and that it be without Confusion or Precipitation.

‘ You have given ample Testimony in all these Particulars ; so that this Sword, in your Hand, will be a right Sword of Justice, attended with Wisdom, Fortitude, and Temperance.

‘ When you have all these together, what a comely and glorious Sight it is to behold a Lord Protector in a Purple Robe, with a Scepter in his Hand, a Sword of Justice girt about him, and his Eyes fixed upon the Bible ! Long may you prosperously enjoy them all, to your own Comfort, and the Comfort of the People of these Three Nations.’

‘ His Highness standing thus adorned in Princely State, according to his Merit and Dignity, looking up unto the Throne of the Most High, who is Prince of Princes, and in whom is all his Confidence, Mr. *Manton*, by Prayer, recommended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, his Highness’s Forces by Sea and Land, the whole Government, and People of these Three Nations, to the Blessing and Protection of God Almighty.

‘ After this the People giving several great Shouts, and the Trumpets sounding, his Highness sat down in

Inter-regnum.

1657.

June.

in the Chair of State, holding the Scepter in his Hand.

‘ At the Right Elbow, by his Highness’s Chair, sat his Excellency the Lord Ambassador Extraordinary of *France* (i); at the Left, his Excellency the Lord Ambassador Extraordinary of the States General of the *United Provinces* (k): On the Right Side of the Chair stood the Earl of *Warwick*, bearing the Sword; and on the Left Side the Lord Mayor of *London*, with the City Sword: Near to his Highness stood the most Noble Lord, the Lord *Richard Cromwell*; his Excellency the Lord *Fleetwood*, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*; the Rt. Hon. the Lord *Cleypole*, Master of the Horse; his Highness’s Council, and all the Officers of State attending. There stood also upon the lower Descent, near the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord Viscount *Lisle* and General *Montagu*; and on the other Side the Lord *Whitlocke*, each of them bearing a drawn Sword.

‘ While his Highness thus sat, a Herald stood up aloft, giving Signal to a Trumpet to sound three Times; after which he did, by Authority and Direction of Parliament, there publish and proclaim his Highness Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, requiring all Persons to yield him due Obedience.

‘ Hereupon the Trumpets sounded, and the People made several great Acclamations with loud Shouts, *God save the Lord Protector*. Then an Officer of Arms, standing upon the Top of the Stairs, made Proclamation again after the same Manner; which was followed with Shouts and loud Acclamations as before.

‘ After a little Pause, the whole Ceremony being ended, his Highness saluting the Ambassadors and public Ministers, proceeded thence in his Princely Habit, the Train whereof was borne up by several

(i) *M. De Bordeaux*. (k) *M. De Nieuport*. Though the Parliament had invited all the foreign Ministers, yet only these two attended at the Ceremonial. It appears, from *Thurloe’s State Papers*, that their Presence was highly acceptable to *Cromwell*.

several Noble Persons ; among whom was the Earl of *Warwick's* Grandson (c), the Lord *Sherrard*, and the eldest Son of the Lord *Roberts* of *Truro*. The Aldermen, Recorder, the Judges, with the Officers of State, and the rest, proceeded in the same Order as they came from the House of Lords, and passed through the Hall to the great Gate leading into the *New Palace-Yard*, where his Highness entered into his Coach of State, being in his Robes. The Earl of *Warwick* sat in the other End of the Coach, and the Lord *Richard Cromwell* and the Lord *Whitlocke* on one Side, the Lord *Whitlocke* having one of the drawn Swords in his Hand. On the other Side sat the Lord Viscount *Lisle* and General *Montague*, bearing the other two drawn Swords in their Hands. The Lord *Cleypole*, Master of the Horse, led the Horse of Honour in rich Caparisons ; the Coach was attended by his Highness's Life-Guards, and other Guards, with the Officers of Arms on Horseback ; the Officers of State, Judges, Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, all waiting on his Highness in their Coaches to *Whitehall* ; the whole being managed with State and Magnificence, suitable to so high and happy a Solemnity.

The Ceremonial being over, the Members returned to their House, and made an Order for recommending it to the Lord Protector, as the Desire of Parliament, that his Highness would be pleased to encourage all Christian Endeavours for uniting the Protestant Churches abroad ; also to take some effectual Course, upon Advice with the Judges, for reforming the Government of the Inns of Court, providing a sufficient Maintenance for the Encouragement of godly and able Ministers there, and for reviving the Readings, and keeping up Exercise, by the Students in those Seminaries of the Law. They also made an Order for printing all the public Acts and Ordinances then in Force, from the 3d of *November*, 1640, under the Care of Mr. *Scobell*,
their

(c) Hon. *Robert Rich*, who afterwards married *Cromwell's* Daughter *Frances*.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

June.

Acts passed by
the Protector.

their Clerk; and then, pursuant to an Act signed by the Protector that Morning adjourned to the 20th of *January* ensuing.

The Season of the Year now demanded a Recess; and there being a great Number of useful Bills depending at this Time, which would have been lost by a Prorogation, the House took this Method to continue them over to their next Meeting.

The most remarkable Acts to which the Protector gave his Consent, besides those already mentioned in the Course of the Proceedings of this Parliament, were these:

The Parliament
adjourned.

For punishing of wandering, idle, and dissolute Persons: By this Act, all such as were found wandering from their usual Place of Abode, without such sufficient Cause as the Justice of Peace before whom they were brought should approve, although not taken in the Act of Begging, were declared to be Rogues and Vagabonds within the Statute of 39 *Elizabeth, Chap. 4.* and to be prosecuted as such. This Act was also to extend to all Fidlers and Minstrels, playing in any Inn, Alehouse, or Tavern, or offering themselves to play in any such Places.

Another, *For punishing such Persons as lived at high Rates, having no visible Estate, Profession, or Calling answerable thereto:* The Preamble to this Act sets forth, That several idle and dissolute Persons maintained themselves by cheating, debauching, and deceiving the young Gentry and others of the Commonwealth; and then impowers Justices of Peace to send for the Offenders, and require Sureties for their Appearance at the next Quarter Session, to be there indicted for living at a high Rate, without any visible Estate or Calling answerable thereto; and, if convicted, to be sent to the House of Correction for three Months. Persons winning Money at Cards, Dice, Tennis, Cock-fighting, Horse-racing, or any other Game, were to forfeit double the Value of Money or Goods so won; and all Securities whatsoever, given for Money lost at Play, to be absolutely void.

An

An Act for settling the Postage of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It is well worth observing, That upon the third Reading of this Bill, a Proviso being offered for freeing Members of Parliament, and other Officers of State, from Payment of any Money for Letters; the same, as the *Journals* inform us, was rejected without a Question!

Inter-regnum.

1657.

June.

There were also Acts passed for taking away of Purveyance and Composition for Purveyance: For limiting and settling the Prices of Wines: For continuing and establishing the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage: For better Observation of the Lord's Day: For convicting, discovering, and repressing Popish Recusants: For indemnifying such Persons who had acted for the Service of the Public: For improving and advancing the Revenues of the Excise and Customs: For giving Licence to export Fish in foreign Bottoms: And for preventing the Multiplicity of Buildings in and about the Suburbs of London, and within ten Miles thereof.

The last Act we shall here mention, was, For confirming certain Acts and Ordinances, as also Orders of the Lord Protector and his Council, and for repealing of others which had been made between the 20th of April, 1653, and the Meeting of this Parliament the 17th of September 1656. The Preamble to this Act is very remarkable, and runs thus:—

• Whereas, since the 20th of April, 1653, in the great Exigencies and Necessities of these Nations, divers Acts and Ordinances have been made, without the Consent of the People assembled in Parliament, which is not according to the Fundamental Laws of these Nations and the Rights of the People, and is not for the future to be drawn into Example, yet the Actings thereupon tended to the Settlement of the Estates of several Persons and Families, and the Peace and Quiet of the Nations, &c. And then the Act recites the Titles of all such Ordinances and Orders of Cromwell as were to be deem'd valid for the future, and declares all others to be absolutely void.

I 101
Inter-regnum.

1657.

July.

Remarkable Events during their Recess.

The Perusal of this long Catalogue of public-spirited Acts, is a sufficient Evidence that many of the Members had employed their Time in Projects much better calculated to advance the Honour and Interest of the Nation, than the Establishment of *Cromwell's* Protectorate.

Before we resume the Proceedings of this Parliament, it will be proper to take Notice of the most remarkable Transactions that happened between the Rising of the House and their next Meeting.

On the first of *July*, *Cromwell* was proclaimed Lord Protector, in *London*, at the usual Places, and with as much Magnificence as if he had actually accepted the Crown: The same was, afterwards, done at *Edinburgh* and *Dublin*, and throughout the Three Nations (1).

Being thus possess'd of the Sovereign Power, and having insured his own Greatness, he thought it necessary to distinguish his Family by Titles of Honour and Preferment. Accordingly, in pursuance of this Plan, his eldest Son, *Richard*, was, upon his own Resignation of the Office of Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, installed therein, on the 29th of this Month, with great Solemnity: In the next, he was sworn a Privy Counsellor, made a Colonel in the Army; and, not long after, the first Lord of the Other House.

On the 11th of *November*, the Protector's youngest Daughter, *Frances*, was married to the Hon. *Robert Rich*, Son of Lord *Rich*, and Grandson of the Earl of *Warwick* (m).—There had been, some few Months before, a private Negotiation on Foot, for a Marriage between this Lady and the exiled King *Charles*, under the Conduct of Lord *Broughill*; who

was

(1) *Cromwell*, while he was only Lord-General of the Parliament's Forces, bore for his Crest a Demi-Lion, holding in his Paw a Halbert, or General's Pike. After he was made Lord Protector, he took away the Halbert, and gave the Demi-Lion, holding a Diamond Ring in his Right Paw, to signify his political Marriage to the Imperial Crown of the Three Kingdoms. This appears from a Comparison of his Sign Manual when Lord-General, with another Sign Manual of his when Lord Protector.

Peck's Memoirs of Cromwell.

(m) *Cromwell* gave her 15,000*l.* Fortune. *Thurloe*, Vol. VI.

was not only very high in *Cromwell's* Confidence, but had Address enough to procure the young King's Consent to such a Treaty. — And altho' no Mention is made of this Affair by Lord *Clarendon*, who, for the Honour of the King his Master, might be induced to pass it over in Silence; yet the under-cited Authorities seem to put this Matter out of doubt (n).

Inter-regnum

1657

November.

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On

(*n* Bishop *Burnet* writes, 'That the Earl of *Orrery* [then Lord *Broughill*] told him, 'That, coming one Day to *Cromwell*, during the Time of the Heats about the Proposal for his Acceptance of the Crown; and telling him, He had been in the City all Day, the Protector ask'd him, what News he had heard there? The other answered, That he was told his Highness was in Treaty with the King, who was to be restored, and to marry his Daughter. *Cromwell* expressing no Indignation at this, Lord *Orrery* said, In the State to which Things were brought, he saw not a better Expedient: They might bring him in on what Terms they pleased: And *Cromwell* might retain the same Authority he then had, with less Trouble: To which he answering, The King can never forgive his Father's Blood, *Orrery* said, The Protector was one of many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the Merit of restoring him. To which *Cromwell* replied, He is so damnable debauched, he would undo us all; and to turned to another Discourse, without any Emotion; which made Lord *Orrery* conclude he had often thought of that Expedient.' *History of his own Times*, Vol. I. p. 69.

Mrs. Morrice, Chaplain to the Earl of *Orrery*, in his Life of that Lord, relates this Affair with many additional Circumstances: We shall therefore cite the whole Narrative thereof, at large, in his own Words:

'After the Wars of *Ireland* were finished, and that Kingdom settled, *Cromwell* being made Lord Protector, a Parliament was called; the Members of which were taken out of the Three Kingdoms, whereof Lord *Broughill* was one.

'His Lordship had, now and then, Opportunities of a secret Correspondence with some Persons about the King, by whom he had sounded his Majesty's Inclinations, which were favourable to a Design of making a Match betwixt him and one of *Cromwell's* Daughters, the Lady *Frances* as I remember; to promote which he had Orders to do whatever lay in his Power: Thus having his Majesty's Leave, he took a fit Occasion to move it to *Cromwell*, which he did in the following Manner:

'He first acquainted *Cromwell's* Wife and Daughter with his Design, and then caused a Rumour of it to be spread abroad in the Town; and, one Day, coming out of the City, and going to *Cromwell's* Closet, *Cromwell* immediately came to him: and, walking with him alone, he ask'd, Where he had been? My Lord answer'd, In the City. *Cromwell* asked him, What News there? My Lord answered, Very strange News. *Cromwell* earnestly inquiring what it was, my Lord detained him a while, only by repeating, *It was strange News*, and smiling at the same Time. *Cromwell*, by the Delay, became more earnest to know it. My Lord, at last, replied, That perhaps he would be offended to hear it. *Cromwell*, not enduring any

The Parliamentary HISTORY

On the 19th of this Month, the Protector's third Daughter, *Mary*, was married to the Lord *Fauconberg*, at *Hampton-Court*: And, on the 25th, his younger Son, *Henry*, was appointed Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*.

About

any longer Delay, assured him he would *not*, and therefore conjured him to tell it. Upon that, in a jocular Way, my Lord told him, all the News in the City was, That he was going to marry his Daughter *Frances* to the King. *Cromwell* then, with a merry Countenance, ask'd him, *And what do the Fools think of it?* My Lord then replied, *All liked it, and thought it the wisest Thing he could do, if he could accomplish it.* Upon that *Cromwell* made a Stand; and, looking steadfastly in my Lord's Face, ask'd him, *And do you believe so too?* His Lordship, seeing him a little moved, answered, He did believe it was the best Thing he could do to secure himself.

Cromwell then walk'd up and down the Room, with his Hands behind him, in a very thoughtful Manner: and at last ask'd my Lord, What Reason he had to be of that Belief? His Lordship represented to him, how little he could confide in those of his own Party, being, upon every Occasion, subject to murmur and repine; how unlikely it was for him to continue long in that Grandeur, the very same Persons who set him up, being willing to pull him down; and, on the other Hand, the King, in his great Exigencies, would be ready enough to hearken to any Proposition, rather than live in Exile, so that he might make his own Terms with him, and be the General of all the Forces during Life: The Loyal Party would readily join with him in the Work; and if his Daughter had Children by the King, which was likely enough, he would thereby be endeared to King and Country, and would have such Interest in the Crown, that Nobody could ever attempt any thing against him; having a King his Son-in-Law, an Heir Apparent to the Crown his Grandson, and the whole Power of the Nation in his own Hands; by all which his Greatness would be for ever established: Whereas, if he neglected these Means, he could not expect to transmit his Greatness to the next Heir, and perhaps would hardly be able to preserve it during his own Life.

Cromwell gave great Attention to these Reasons; but, walking two or three Turns, and pondering within himself, he told Lord *Brogbill*, The King would never forgive him the Death of his Father. His Lordship desired him to employ somebody to sound the King in this Matter, to see how he would take it, and offered himself to mediate it for him: But *Cromwell* would not consent, but again repeated *The King cannot, and will not, forgive the Death of his Father*; and so he left his Lordship, who durst not tell him he had already dealt with his Majesty in that Affair.

Upon this my Lord withdrew, and meeting *Cromwell's* Wife and Daughter, they inquired how he had succeeded; of which having given them an Account, he added, They must try their Interest in him; but none could prevail, Guilt lay so heavy upon him, that he thought there could be no Reconciliation; and so that Business broke off.

Collection of Lord Orrery's State Letters, before cited, p. 23.

About this Time Advice was received of *Mardyke* being taken from the *Spaniards*, by the united Forces of *England* and *France*, and put into the Possession of Major-General *Morgan*, for the Use of *Cromwell*, pursuant to an Offensive and Defensive Treaty, between the two Nations, against *Spain*.

Few Princes ever bore their Character higher, than *Oliver Cromwell* in his Treaties with Crowned Heads: A very remarkable Instance of which we have in the League before us; wherein he would not allow the *French* King to call himself King of *France*, but of the *French*; whereas he took to himself not only the Title of Protector of *England*, but likewise of *France*. And, which is yet more surprising, in the Instrument of this Treaty, the Protector's Name was put before that of the *French* King's (c).

In the Beginning of *December*, *Cromwell*, in pursuance of an Address from his Parliament, on the Day of their Adjournment, sent an Agent to the Duke of *Savoy*, to negotiate in favour of that Prince's Protestant Subjects in *Piedmont*. And,

On the 10th of this Month, the Protector, according to the Powers vested in him by the Humble Petition and Advice, nominated Another House of Parliament, to sit and do Business in Imitation of the House of Lords. The Commissioners of the Great Seal, with the Advice of the Judges, had been ordered to prepare a Writ for summoning the Members of this Other House, directed to such Persons as the Lord Protector, under his Sign Manual, should appoint. The Form of the said Writ was as follows:

L 3

OLIVER,

(c) Id, porro, Bellum Protectoris in *Hispanis* adeo opportunum *Gallo* accedebat, ut summo Studio idum Fœdore sibi innectere aude-
ret; etiam concessio, ut *Cromwellus* eundem *Gallorum Regem*, non *Galli-*
arum, nuncuparet; alias ipse Protectoris, quoque *Franciae*, vocabu-
lum, sicut *Angliae* assumpturus: Simul pateretur *Cromwellum* Instru-
mento suo Nomen, Titulumque, ante *Gallicum*, ponere.

Puffendorff de Rebus Gestis Frederici Wilhelmi, Electoris Branden-
burgici, p. 313.

In rep. regnum.
1657.

December.

Cromwell's Writ
for summoning
his House of
Lords.

OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: To our Trusty and beloved Son, Lord Richard Cromwell, Greeting.

Whereas, by the Advice and Assent of our Council, for certain great and weighty Affairs concerning us and the State and Defence of the said Commonwealth; We ordained our present Parliament to be held at our City of Westminster, the 17th Day of September, in the Year of our Lord, 1656, and there to consult and advise with the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of our said Commonwealth; which Parliament was then and there held, and continued untill the 26th Day of June last past, and then adjourned untill the 20th Day of January now next coming: Therefore we command and firmly enjoin you, that, considering the Difficulty of the said Affairs and imminent Dangers, all Excuses being set aside, you be personally present at Westminster aforesaid, the said 20th Day of January next coming, there to treat, confer, and give your Advice with us, and with the Great Men and Nobles in and concerning the Affairs aforesaid: And this, as you love our Honour and Safety, and the Defence of the Commonwealth aforesaid, you shall in no wise omit.

Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the 10th Day of December, 1657.

Mr. Whitlocke writes, 'That amongst the Members of this New House of Lords, were many Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen, of antient Families and good Estates, intermix'd with some Colonels and Officers of the Army (c).¹ Mr. Ludlow, though he admits that there were, in this Assembly, several of the antient Nobility, together with some of the Gentry, who had considerable Estates derived to them from their Ancestors, yet affirms that the principal Part of them were such as had procured their present Possessions by their Wits, and were resolved to enlarge them by selling their Consciences to Cromwell, for the Purchase of his Favour (d).—But the

(c) Memorials, p. 665.—(d) Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 595.

he Characters of the Members of this Unconstitutional Body, will best be known by exhibiting a List of them (e); observing by the Way, That tho' the Protector had refused the Title of *King*, yet the *Regal Style*, as *Ourself*, *Our Great Seal*, *Our Fleet*, *Our Army*, &c. is made use of in the respective Writ issued on this Occasion, viz.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

December.

Lord *Richard Cromwell*,
Lord *Henry Cromwell*,
Nathanael Fiennes, one of
the Lords Commissioners of our Great
Seal,
John Lisle, one of the
Lords Commissioners
of our Great Seal,
Henry Lawrence, Presi-
dent of our Council,
Charles Fleetwood, Lieu-
tenant-General of our
Army,
Edmund, Earl of *Mul-
grave*,
Robert, Earl of *War-
wick*,
Edward, Earl of *Man-
chester*,

William, Lord Viscount
Say and Sele,
Thomas, Lord *Fauconberg*,
Charles, Lord Viscount
Howard of Morpeth (f),
Philip, Lord *Wharton*,
Lord *Jahn Cleypole*, Ma-
ster of our Horse,
John Desbrough, one of
the Generals of our
Fleet,
Edward Montague, one
of the Generals of our
Fleet, and Lord Com-
missioner of our Trea-
sury,
William Sydenham, one of
the Lords Commis-
sioners of our Treasury,

A List of them.

L 4

Bulstrode

(e) *Cromwell* was under so great Embarrassment whom to fix upon for constituting this Other House of Parliament, that, in a Letter from *Thurloe* to *Henry Cromwell*, in *Ireland*, of the 1st of this Month, the Secretary assured him there was not then any one Person fully resolved on, and nobody was able to say who they should be (the Difficulty proving great between those who were fit, and not willing to serve; and those who were willing, and expected it, but were not fit); although there were then but eight Days left for the final Resolution, there being a Necessity for issuing the Writs forty Days before the Meeting of the Parliament.

State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 643.

(f) So created by *Cromwell* the 20th of *July*, 1657; and, upon the Restoration, advanced to the Dignity of Earl of *Carlisle*.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

December.

Bulstrode Whitlocke, one
of the Lords Com-
missioners of our Trea-
sury,*Sir Charles Wolseley*, Bart.*Walter Strickland*, Esq;*Philip Skippon*, Esq;*Francis Rous*, Esq;*John Jones*, Esq;*George*, Lord *Eure*,*Edmund Thomas*, Esq;*Sir William Strickland*,
Bart.*John Fiennes*, Esq;*Sir Francis Russel*, Bart.*Philip Viscount Lisle*,*Sir Thomas Honeywood*,*Sir Arthur Haslerigge*,
Bart.*Sir John Hobart*, Bart.*Sir Richard Onslow*, Knt.*Sir Gilbert Gerrard*,
Bart.† *Sir William Roberts*,
Knt. (f)*John Glynn*, Lord Chief
Justice of the Upper
Bench,*Oliver St. John*, Lord
Chief Justice of the
Common Bench,*William Pierepoint*, Esq;*John Crew*, Esq;*Alexander Popham*,*Philip Jones*, Esq;† *Sir William Lockhart*,
Knt.† *Sir Christopher Packe*,
And† *Sir Robert Tichburne*,
Knights, and Aldermen,
of our City of *London*,
Edward Whalley, Com-
missary-General of the
Horse,† *Sir John Barkstead*,
Knt. Lieutenant of the
Tower,† *Sir Thomas Pride*, Knt.
John Clerke, L. L. D.*Richard Ingoldsby*, Esq;† *Sir John Hewson*, Knt.*James Berry*, Esq;*William Goffe*, Esq;*George Moncke*, Com-
mander in Chief of our
Forces in *Scotland*,*David*, Earl of *Cassils*,*Archibald Johnston*, of
Wariston,*William Steele*, Chancel-
lor of *Ireland*,*Roger*, Lord *Brogbill*,† *Sir Matthew Tomlinson*,
Knt.*Sir Gilbert Pickering*,
Bart.† *Sir George Fleetwood*,
Knt.*Thomas Cooper*, Esq;*William Lentball*, Master
of the Rolls in our
Chancery.*Richard Hampden*, Esq; (g)

The

(f) The Persons distinguished thus † were knighted by *Cromwell*.(g) In a Catalogue of the Members of this Assembly, sent by Secre-
tary *Thurloe* to *Lockhart*, then Ambassador in *France*, the Number is
only 58, the five last being omitted. *Whitlocke's Memorials*, *Dug-
dale's View of the Troubles*, *Heath's Chronicle*, and others, make
them only 61; but the List, as above given, was published in *De-
cember*, 1658, by *T. Walkley*, with a Copy of the Writ prefixed to it.

The Judges of the Upper Bench, who, at this Time, were *Warburton* and *Newdigate*; of the Common Bench, *Atkins*, *Hale*, and *Wyndham*; with the Barons of the Exchequer, *Nicholas*, *Purker*, and *Hill*, were summoned, also, as Assistants to this Other House (*b*).

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

All the Peers summoned to this Assembly, except the Lord *Eure*, prudentially forbore to sit therein; and Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, to shew his Contempt of them, took his Seat in the House of Commons as Member for the Town of *Leicester*. This Gentleman was one of those who had been secluded by the Protector's Council, at the Opening of the Parliament in *September*; and then distinguished himself as the first Man who subscribed the Remonstrance against that Arbitrary Proceeding.—However,

On the 20th of *January*, pursuant to Adjournment, the Parliament met; the Commons in their own House; the Members of the Other House, in that which was formerly the House of Lords: But there being no *Journals* kept of their New Lordships Proceedings that we know of, what they did, in the little Time they sat, must be gleaned out of those of the Commons.—The latter employed the Morning in taking the Oath required by the humble additional and Explanatory Petition and Advice, and appointing a solemn Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and seeking of God, for his Assistance and Blessing on their Endeavours. After which, being inform'd that the Usher of the Black Rod, with some Message, was at the Door, he was called in; and having made his Obeisance, and approaching towards the Middle of the House with his Rod in his Hand, he acquainted them, That his Highness was in the House of Lords, and staid for them there: Hereupon the Speaker, and all the Members, went up, the Serjeant bearing his Mace upon his Shoulder, when his Highness was pleased to make the following mysterious Speech to the Assembly, as entered in the *Journals*.

The Parliament meet again, pursuant to Adjournment.

My

(b) Most of these were re-appointed Judges after the Restoration.

The Parliamentary HISTORY*My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Com-
mons,*

I Meet you here, in this Capacity, by the Ad-
vice and Petition of this present Parliament, af-
ter so much Expence of Blood and Treasure, to
search and try what Blessings God hath in Store for
these Nations.

‘I cannot but with Gladness of Heart remember
and acknowledge the Labour and Industry that is
past, which hath been spent upon a Business worthy
of the best Men; and the best Christians. It is very
well known unto you all what Difficulties we have
passed through, and what we are now arrived at:
We hope we may say we are arrived at what we
aimed at, if not at that which is much beyond our
Expectations.

‘The State of this Cause, and the Quarrel, what
that was at the first, you all very well know: I am
persuaded most of you have been Actors in it.

‘It was the maintaining the Liberty of these Na-
tions; our Civil Liberties as Men, our Spiritual Li-
berties as Christians. I shall not much look back,
but rather say one Word concerning the State and
Condition we are all now in.

‘You know very well, the first Declaration after
the Beginning of this War, that spake to the Life,
was a Sense held forth by the Parliament, That, for
some Succession of Time, Designs were laid to inno-
vate upon the Civil Rights of the Nations; and to
innovate in Matters of Religion: And those very Per-
sons, that, a Man would have thought, should have
had the least Hand in the meddling with Civil Things,
did justify them all; all Transactions that were in
Pulpits, in Presses, and otherwise; which was verily
thought would have been a very good Shelter to them,
to innovate upon us in Matters of Religion also;
and so to innovate as to eat out the Core, and Power,
and Heart, and Life of all Religion, by bringing on
us a Company of poisonous, Popish Ceremonies,
and imposing them upon those that were accounted
the Puritans of the Nation, and Professors of Reli-
gion

gion amongst us; driving them to seek their Bread in an howling Wilderness, as was instanced to our Friends, who were forced to fly for *Holland, New-England*, almost any whither, to find Liberty for their Consciences.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

‘ Now, if this Thing hath been the State and Sum of our Quarrel, and of those ten Years Wars wherein we have been exercised; and that the good Hand of God, (for we are to attribute it to no other) hath brought the Business thus home unto us, as it is stated in the Petition and Advice, I think we have all Cause to bless God, and the Nations have cause to bless him.

‘ I well remember I did a little touch upon the 85th Psalm, when I spake unto you in the Beginning of this Parliament, which expresseth well that that we may say as truly and as well, as it was said of old by the Penman of that Psalm. The first Verse is an Acknowledgment to God, that he had been favourable to his Land, and had brought back the Captivity of his People; and that he had pardoned all their Iniquities, and covered all their Sin, and taken away all his Wrath: And indeed of these unspeakable Mercies, Blessings, and Deliverances out of Captivity, pardoning National Sins and National Iniquities, pardoning as God pardons the Man whom he justifieth, he breaks through, and overlooks Iniquity; and pardoneth because he will pardon: And sometimes God pardoneth Nations so; and if the Enjoyment of our present Peace and other Mercies, may be Witnesses for God, we feel and we see them every Day.

‘ The greatest Demonstration of his Favour and Love appears to us in this, That he hath given us Peace and the Blessings of Peace; to wit, the Enjoyments of our Liberties, Civil and Spiritual; and I remember well the Church falls into Prayer, and into Praises, great Expectations of future Mercies, and much Thankfulness for the Enjoyment of present Mercies; and breaks into this Expression, *Surely Salvation is nigh unto them that fear him, that Glory may dwell in our Land.* In the Beginning, he calls

it

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

it his Land; *Thou hast been favourable to our Land:* Truly I hope this is his Land; and, in some Sense, it may be given out that it is God's Land. And he that hath the weakest Knowledge, and the worst Memory, can easily tell we are a redeemed People, (when first God was pleased to look favourably upon us) out of the Hands of Popery, in that never-to-be-forgotten Reformation, that most significant and greatest the Nation hath felt or tasted.

‘I would but touch upon that, and but a Touch: How hath God redeemed us, as it is this Day, not from Trouble, and Sorrow, and Anger; but unto a blessed and happy Estate and Condition, comprehensive of all the Interest of every Member, of every individual of those Mercies, as you very well see!

‘And then in what Sense it is our Land, through this Grace and Favour of God, that he hath vouchsafed unto us, and bestowed upon us, with the Gospel, with Peace, and Rest, out of ten Years War, and given us what we would desire! Nay, who could have forethought, when we were plunged into the Midst of our Troubles, that ever the People of God should have had Liberty to worship God without Fear of Enemies? Which is the very Acknowledgement of the Promise of *Christ*, That he would deliver his from Fear of Enemies, that they might worship him in Holiness and in Righteousness all the Days of their Life.

‘This is the Portion that God hath given us; and I trust we shall for ever heartily acknowledge it. The Church goes on there, and makes her Boast yet further; *His Salvation is nigh them that fear him, that Glory may dwell in our Land:* His Glory not carnal, nor anything else that accompanies this Glory of a free Possession of the Gospel; this is that we may glory in. And he says further, *Mercy and Truth are met together, Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other.*

‘And it shall be such Righteousness as comes down from Heaven; *Truth shall grow out of the Earth* and

and Righteousness shall come down from Heaven. Here is the Truth of all ; here is the Righteousness of God, under the Notion of Righteousness, confirming our Abilities, answerable to the Truth that he hath in the Gospel revealed towards us : And he closeth with this ; *Righteousness shall go before him, and shall set us in the Way of his Steps* : That Righteousness, that Mercy, that Love, and that Kindness which we have seen, and have been made Partakers of from the Lord ; it shall be our Guide to teach us to know the right and the good Way : which is to tread in Steps of Mercy, Righteousness, and Goodness, that our God hath walked before us in.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

January.

‘ We have a Peace this Day : I believe, in my very Heart, you all think the Things that I speak to you this Day ; I am sure you have Cause. And yet we are not without the Murmurings of many People, who turn all this Grace and Goodness into Wormwood, who indeed are disappointed by the Works of God : And those Men are of several Ranks and Conditions ; great ones, lesser ones, of all Sorts ; Men that are of the Episcopal Spirit, with all the Branches, the Root and the Branches ; who gave themselves a fatal Blow in this Place, when they would needs make a Protestation. That no Laws were good which were made by this House, and the House of Commons, in their Absence ; and so, without Injury to themselves, cut off themselves.

‘ Indeed Men that know not God ; that know not how to account upon the Works of God ; how to measure them out ; but will trouble Nations for an Interest, which is but mixt at the best ; made up of Iron and Clay, like the Feet of *Nebuchadnezzar*’s Image ; whether they were more Civil or Spiritual, was hard to say, but their Continuance was like to be known before-hand ; Iron and Clay make no good Mixtures, they are not durable at all.

‘ You have now a Godly Ministry, you have a knowing Ministry ; such a one as, without Vanity be it spoken, the World has not ; Men knowing the Things of God, and able to search into the Things of God ; by that only that can fathom those

Things

Inter-regnum.
1657.

January.

Things in some Measure. The Spirit of a Beast knows not the Spirit of a Man; nor doth the Spirit of Man know the Things of God: The Things of God are known by the Spirit. Truly I will remember but this one Thing of those; their greatest Persecution hath been of the People of God; Men of the Spirit of God, as, I think, very Experiences will sufficiently demonstrate.

‘Besides, what is the Reason, think you, that Men slip in this Age wherein we live? As I told you before, they understand not the Works of God; they consider not the Operation of his Laws; they consider not that God resisted and broke in Pieces the Powers that were, that Men might fear him; might have Liberty to do, and to enjoy, all that we have been speaking of: Which certainly God hath manifested, that this was the End, and that he hath brought the Things to pass. Therefore it is that Men yet slip, and engage themselves against God; and for that very Cause, in the 28th Psalm, saith David, *He shall break them down, and not build them up.* If therefore you would know upon what Foundation you stand, own your Foundation from God. He hath set you where you are; he hath set you in the Enjoyment of your Civil and of your Spiritual Liberties.

‘I deal clearly with you: I have been under some Infirmary; therefore dare not speak further unto you, but to let you know thus much, that I have, with Truth and Simplicity, declared the State of our Cause and Attainments in it, to you, by the Industry and Labour of this Parliament, when they last met upon this Foundation, (you shall find I mean the Foundation of a Cause and Quarrel thus attained to) wherein we are thus estated; I should be very glad to lay my Bones with yours; and would have done it with all Heartiness and Chearfulness, in the meanest Capacity that I was ever yet in, to serve the Parliament.

‘If God give you, as I trust he will, he hath given it you; for, what have I been speaking of but what you have done? He hath given you Strength to

to do what hath been done: And, if God should bless you in this Work, and make this Meeting happy upon this Account, you shall all be called the Blessed of the Lord; the Generations to come will bless us; you shall be the Repairers of Breaches, and the Restorers of Paths to dwell in: And if there be any Work that Mortals can attain to in the World beyond this, I acknowledge my Ignorance. As I told you, I have some Infirmities upon me: I have not Liberty to speak more unto you; but I have desired an Honourable Person here by me, to discourse a little more particularly, what may be more proper for this Occasion, and this Meeting.

Act. regnum.

1657.

January.

The Protector having ended his Harangue, the Journals inform us, That the Lord Commissioner *Fiennes* made a Speech to both Houses, by way of Enlargement thereupon. This Gentleman, when addressing himself to *Cromwell*, at the late Conference concerning the Parliament's Tender of the Crown, argues like a Man of Learning and a sound Lawyer; yet when he was, as it were, personating his Master, he seems to have exceeded him in Cant and Hypocrisy.—But let this Enthusiastic Rhapsody speak for itself.

My Lords and Gentlemen, of both the most Honourable Houses of Parliament,

A Mongst the manifold and various Dispensations of God's Providence of late Years, this is one, and it is a signal and remarkable Providence, That we see, this Day, in this Place, a Chief Magistrate, and two Houses of Parliament. *Jacob*, speaking to his Son *Joseph*, said, *I had not thought to have seen thy Face, and, lo, God hath shewed me thy Seed also*; meaning his two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*: And may not many amongst us well say, Some Years since we had not thought to have seen a Chief Magistrate again among us; and lo, God hath shewn us a Chief Magistrate in his two Houses of Parliament? Now may the good God make them like *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, that the Three Nations

The Lord-Commissioner *Fiennes* on the same Occasion.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

January.

tions may be blessed in them, saying, God make thee like those two Houses of Parliament, which two, like *Leah* and *Rachel*, did build the House of *Israel*!

‘ May you do worthily in *Epbrata*, and be famous in *Beitblem*! May it be your great Business to procure the Peace, the Safety, the Prosperity of these Three Nations! And these Things too, not for themselves only; but in order yet to greater and higher Ends, the Advancement of the Kingdom of *Christ* amongst us, and the Glory of God, in the Good of all Men, but especially of the Churches of God amongst Men; which as they are God’s most precious Jewels, and his chiefest Care, so must they also hold the choicest Place in the Eyes, and in the Hearts, of all them that act under him, and are clothed with his Power and Authority.

‘ In order to this great and glorious End, you may please, in the first Place, to reflect upon the Posture that the Three Nations at the present are in; a Posture (God be praised) of Peace, as within themselves; a quiet Posture, a Posture looking towards a Settlement; a perfect Settlement; and the blessed Fruits thereof Justice and Piety, Plenty and Prosperity; if we take Care not to abuse the latter to the Destruction of the former: Surely we ought, with all Thankfulness, to own and acknowledge the Outgoings of God for Good unto us, hitherto: We ought to consider how far, through the good Hand of God upon the Endeavours of his Highness and the Parliament before its Adjournment, we were already advanced in this Way and Work.

‘ After, you may please to foresee and avoid the dangerous Rocks, which we may fall upon in our Course; which may not only stop it, but cut it short, and totally disappoint us of ever arriving at the desired Port.

‘ In the next Place, you may consider the Opportunities and Advantages you have at this Time in your Hands, by what the Parliament hath already done, that you may improve them.

‘ And, lastly, you may cast your Eyes upon the Difficulties we lye under, and the Impediments which

which lie in our Way, that you may endeavour to remove them.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

January.

‘ These Things I can only speak to cursorily and generally : The full and thorough Consideration of them will be the Work of your many and serious Debates and Consultations ; and will exercise not only your Wisdom and Industry, but also your Faith and Patience : And may it please the Lord to accompany you with his Presence and Assistance, and, in the End, to crown you with his Blessing, and with Success !

‘ Into what Condition the late Wars and Distractions had brought these Nations, and what a Cloud of Darkness had overspread the whole Face of the Government, being void, and, in a Manner, without Form, we all know, and the Three Nations sadly felt, and were very sensible of those future Confusions that might have ensued thereupon : But it pleased God, that Light sprang up among us, and Things began to move towards something of Order and Consistency ; but as yet the Earth and the Water were in one Mass together : Then were the Waters beneath the Firmament divided from those above the Firmament ; there was constituted a Chief Magistrate and a Parliament, the one distinct from the other ; that each one, from its own proper Place, might the better put forth its Influence and Usefulness for the Good of the whole.

‘ After, it pleased this Parliament, by their Humble Petition and Advice, to distinguish also the Parliament into two Houses ; and that great and noble Body of the Waters retiring into their own Receptacle, the dry Land appeareth : And what now remains, but that, by the sweet Influence of that powerful Spirit that moved upon the Waters, every Herb should bring forth Seed according to its Kind ; and every Tree bring forth Fruit according to its Kind ; and that the Sun, Moon, and Stars, the Ordinances of Magistracy and Ministry, should shine forth brightly in the Firmament of Heaven, in their greater and lesser Lights, according to the Proportion that God hath dispensed to each one ;

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

and that Fish and Fowl should multiply in the Waters and in the Air ; and Beasts and Cattle of all Sorts increase in the Earth ; that all Trades, all Professions, all Ranks and Degrees of Men, may be subservient to that Second *Adam* and his Spouse, *Christ* and his Church ; that they may be formed and set up amongst us, and placed in a Garden of *Eden* ; where, with all Freedom, without Fear or Disturbance, they may enjoy all spiritual Delights, and have Communion with one another and with God : Which, though last in Execution, I hope always was, and always will be, the first and chiefest in our Intentions.

‘ The Holy Angels of God, when the Foundations of the Earth were laid, did not say, Here is a rude Mass of Earth and Water ; here is indeed a little Light ; but where is Heaven, Sun, Moon, and Stars ? Nay, where is Man, made after the Image of God ? But, on the contrary, as ’tis witness’d from the Mouth of God himself, when the Foundations of the World were fastened, and only the Corner Stone thereof laid, the Morning Stars sang all together, and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy. From hence we may discover one, and that a most dangerous, Rock ; which, if not heeded, we may split upon : It is a Spirit of Discontent, and Dislike of the present Dispersations of God, because all Things are not perfect in an Instant, and such as is to be wished they were, and such as possibly, in God’s due Time, they may be.

‘ If the present Parliament, at their first Meeting, had given Way to such a Spirit as that ; and had not, God assisting them so to do, on the contrary, put on a Spirit of Patience and Resolution to rectify, as far as in them lay, what was amiss ; to improve what was good, and to make the best of what God laid before them ; pressing on to Settlement and Perfection, as God should open them a Way, without attending either to Rumours or Humours of any Sort, as there were enough of all Kinds to have discouraged them and diverted them in their Work : I say, if they had given Way to such a Spirit as that,

that, I know not where we might have been by this Time: But now, blessed be God! we know where we are in some Measure; and that we are in an hopeful Way of Settlement, Safety, and Prosperity. You did run well, let no Man hinder you: I do not know that it would be an uncharitable Wish, to wish them for ever cut off that should trouble you, and trouble the Peace of the Nation: But I am sure it is a Christian Wish and Prayer, to bid you God speed in your Way and in your Work, for the further Settlement of these Nations; being confident, that the Child unborn will have Cause to bless you for what you have already done, and what, by God's Grace, you may yet further do, for their Good. Those that create new Troubles in a Nation, seldom attain either the Ends held forth in their goodly Pretensions, or indeed aimed at in their good Intentions, if any such they have; but usually something falleth out, in the End of the Tragedy, much contrary to their Expectation, and ordinarily something of greater Mischief and Confusion, than ever they felt before. Those that throw Fire upon an House cannot say, when the Flame is once broken out, that it shall go so far, or so far, and no farther: The Fire, when once broken forth, will after take its own Course, or such a Way as some boisterous or tempestuous Wind shall carry it. Those that shall pluck up the Flood-Gates of the great Deep, and let in the surging and raging Waves of War into a Nation, cannot stop them and bound them when and where they please: He only can do that who first set Bounds and Doors unto them, and said, *Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther; and here shall thy proud Waves be stayed.* Let us therefore beware of the crafty Devices of that subtle and malicious Serpent, that he beguile us not; and that there arise not in any of us an evil Heart of Unbelief, to depart from our Ssteadfastness, and from our fixed Resolution to seek Peace and ensue it.

There is an evil Root, and it is one and the same Root, though two different and contrary Fruits

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

spring from it, but both tending to one and the same End; which is to overthrow our great End, the Peace and Quiet of these Nations, and the blessed Fruits that grow upon them, more precious than the Peace itself, though that be a great Blessing of, and in, itself. This Root is a Root of Bitterness and Discontent, at the present Dispensations of God: The different Fruits thereof are a restive and a restless Spirit: The former causeth Men, because they cannot have all that they will, and when they will, to throw up all in a Discontent; and refuse to go God's Way and God's Pace, because they cannot go their own. The other Spirit causeth Men to be always restless, to be always digging up Foundations, to be turning and overturning, and disliking all Things. As to the first Sort; if they would but consider the Example of the great Workman and Creator of this beautiful Universe, in the Order and Manner of his Creation thereof, they might therein behold, as in a Mirror, the perfect Idea of the Method and Manner of his Working, also in the continual Course of his Providence, in the Preservation and Government of the World; and might be taught how to order their Thoughts and themselves, in relation to the gradual Dispensations of God; and learn their own Duty, as they are called to act under the same, and in Subserviency thereunto. Not only God's Rest, but also his Working, was exemplary; as God rested the seventh Day, so must Men: As God wrought the six Days, so must Men; as well those that are to work with the Head as with the Hand; as well Rich as Poor; as well High as Low: None are too high to imitate the Most High: None must be idle; but every one must serve God and his Country, according to his Calling; and that Call cannot but be warrantable, which is necessary; and that is necessary which God, by his Providence, so orders, that a Man must act by it, or not at all: And that he should not act at all, is neither agreeable to God's Commandment, nor his Example.

• Thus,

* Thus, as to the Substance of God's Working ; but the very Order and Manner of it hath also a Teaching in it.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

* No doubt, if it had seemed good to the Divine Wisdom, that powerful Breath, which called something out of nothing, could, in the same Breath, and in the same Instant, have given it its whole and entire Beauty and Perfection : But he was pleased to create it by Degrees, and to proceed from one Measure of Perfection to another. When he had drawn the first Line thereof, he did not dislike his own Work, and throw it up, though the Earth was void and without Form, and Darkness was upon the Face of the Deep, but went on to create Light ; and though it was still mixed with Darkness, even before he had divided the Darkness from the Light, he saw it was good : And so, at every Period of his Work, he owned the Good that was already in being, and then went on till he had perfected the whole ; and, when he had viewed all his Works together, he then saw they were all very good. What should this teach us, but that we should thankfully own and receive every Degree of Good which God reacheth forth unto us ; and with Faith and Patience wait upon his Footsteps, following him from one Step of Perfection to another, till we arrive at the End of his Works ; and then, as we found the Parts thereof good, we shall find them altogether very good : And if God, who could have made his Works perfect in an Instant, yet was pleased to perfect them by Degrees, surely he would have us learn not to quarrel at the Works of Men, if they are not all perfect in a Day : Nay, if we will take God for our Pattern, (as all the Excellency that is in the Creature is so far forth, as there is found in it some Shadow and Resemblance of its Creator) tho' there be not only Defects, but also real Evils in Things, yet Men ought not to sit still, and let them take their Course, but to endeavour to amend them if they can ; or otherwise to draw Good out of them if they may : For although to do Evil, that Good may come out of it, is a Doc-

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

trine of Devils ; yet, to draw Good out of Evil, is an high Imitation of God.

‘As to that other Sort of Spirit, that is over busy and always turning up Foundations, I might have forborne to say any thing of it to you, unto whom I address my Speech, as in relation to yourselves ; for that either you yourselves have advised the settling that Foundation we now stand upon, or else are laid upon it, or at least are, or should be, all sworn to it : And as to others, who would build upon contrary Foundations, or upon no certain Foundation, departing from, and not perfecting, that which is already so well laid, (which may be equally destructive to our great and good End of Settlement) I need not say much to them neither : For those which conceit either *Utopia’s* of I know not what Kind of imaginary Commonwealths, or Day-Dreams of the Return of I know not what Golden Age with the old Line ; their Notions are rather bottomed in Conceit than in Reason, and must rather be worn out by Experience than argued down by Reason ; for, when they come to be put in Practice, they presently discover their Weakness and Inconsistency, and that they are altogether unpracticable and infeasible, or of very short Durance and Continuance, as hath appeared so often as they have been assayed or attempted : Nay, as to the latter, there seemeth to be τὸ Θεῖον, *aliquid Divini*, to the contrary ; there having been so constant and strong a Current of Providences against it, that whosoever have attempted to stem that Tide, have not only been carried violently back again, but also driven upon Rocks, whereupon they have shipwreck’d themselves in the Attempt ; not unlike to those *Jews* whom *Julian* the Apostate, in Despight of *Christ*, set to rebuild the Temple at *Jerusalem* upon its old Foundations, out of which Balls of Wild-fire issuing forth, affrighted and destroyed the Workmen, and made them desist from their Work. Indeed our Author and the Party amongst us doth the like ; because an Heathen, and a great Friend of *Julian*, would not acknowledge the

the Hand of God in it, but imputed it to a strong Accident, to the Pertinacy of the Element; *Pertinacia Elementi, crebris Insultibus, terruit Operarios*; yet it made them desist from their Work: But so will not that Party amongst us: No Demonstrations of God's Hand against them will prevail with them; but, surpassing in Obstinacy the very *Jews* themselves, they will not leave off their Work, but are as hard at it, even at this Day, as ever. What shall we do with those Men who will never be quiet? *Eger intemperans crudelem facit Medicum; et immedicabile Vulnus Ense recidendum.*

There is another Rock, and it is also a dangerous one; it is a Rock upon which many have split themselves in our View; and it hath, lying right over against it, a Quicksand, no less dangerous, which hath swallowed many also in our Sight: The Rock is a Spirit of imposing upon Men's Consciences where God leaves them a Latitude, and would have them free: The Quicksand is an abominable Licentiousness, to profess and practise any Sort of detestable Opinions and Principles: For the former, the Prelates and all their Adherents, nay, and their Master and Supporter too, with all his Posterity, have split themselves upon it. The bloody Rebels in *Ireland*, that would endure no Religion but their own amongst them, have split themselves upon it: And we doubt not but that the Prince of those Satanical Spirits, under whose Banner, being cast out from hence, they are now retired as unto their *Beelzebub*, will, in God's good Time, split himself also upon this Rock; and be brought down to the Ground, together with his bloody Inquisition, which therefore hath acquired the Surname of the *Spanish* Inquisition.

But as God is no Respector of Persons, so neither is he any Respector of Forms; but in what Form soever this Spirit appeareth, he hath, he will, testify his Displeasure against it, though it be not of so deep a Dye as that I have spoken of before: If Men, though otherwise good Men, will turn Ceremony into Substance, and make the Kingdom of

Inter-regnum.
1657.

January.

Christ to consist in Circumstances, in Disciplines, in Forms (though these Things also may have their Use, as to Order and Decency, so they be strained no farther, and not carried beyond their Line and Measure): But, I say, if Uniformity in these Things shall dissolve Unity among Brethren; and especially if it grow to such a Height of Animosity, and so high a Degree of Asperity, that if one say but *Siboleth* instead of *Sibboleth*, it shall be accounted Ground enough to cut his Throat, though one of his Brethren; if any Men shall account all as Heathens, and no Christians, that are not under such or such an Ordinance; all Men Devils, that are out of such a Circle, and such a Form; and all Men the Seed of the Serpent, that will not father such or such an Opinion, (it may be but Fancies too, when all is done) such Principles, such Practices, Men cannot bear, God will not endure: And in vain do they protest against the Persecution of God's People, when, as eagerly persecuting all others, they make the Definition of God's People so narrow, that their Persecution becometh as broad as any others; and usually more fierce, because ordinarily edged with a sharper Temper of Spirit. It may be that many amongst these shall, by God's Mercy, meet together in Heaven; but certainly, had they Power at Will, they would not suffer one another to live upon the Earth: Therefore, blessed be God, who, in Mercy to us and them, hath placed the Power in such Hands, as make it their Business to keep Peace amongst them, and to hinder them from biting and devouring one another: Nay, he is pleased tacitly to influence some amongst themselves, of more moderate Spirits, to balance the rest, and to keep them in Peace at present; and not without Hopes, by God's Blessing upon their Persuasions and Examples, to bring them at length to a near Conjunction of Hearts and of Minds: And if those that are more earnest amongst them, would be but a little jealous over their own Spirits, and would but observe the Rebukes of God upon all that have been transported unto those Extremes,

and trace the Footsteps of his Indignation against them, (whereof he hath left several Prints in all the Three Nations) it might be a good Help to reduce them to that Golden Mean, which certainly is the right Way, which undoubtedly is God's Way: God was not in the Whirlwind, nor in the Earthquake, nor in the Fire, when he came to *Elijah*, on the Mount of God; but he was in the still and small Voice; yet it must be a small and still Voice, enough to hold forth a certain and distinct Sound, but not to make so great a Noise as to drown all other Voices besides: It is good, it is useful, to hold forth a certain Confession of the Truth; but not so as thereby to exclude all those that cannot come up to it, in all Points, from the Privileges which belong to them as Christians; much less which belong to them as Men.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

For that other Extreme, that Gulph and Quicksand whereupon so many wretched Souls have made Shipwreck of Faith and a good Conscience, abandoning themselves to all Looseness of Opinions, Principles, and Practices; denying and blaspheming the Lord that bought us, and the Holy Spirit that sanctified us; making a Mock of the Scriptures, of Heaven and Hell, and of all the Fundamentals of our most Holy Faith, I need not speak more to it; there is *Testimonium Rei* in the Case; the Things themselves speak loud enough, to sober Consciences, that they are intolerable.

Between these two, that Rock and this Quicksand, the Parliament, in their Humble Petition and Advice, have most wisely and most christianly steered their Course; wherein, if they shall still constantly persevere, all good Men in City, in Country, in Army, and every where; nay, God himself will stand by them, and own them in it: And not only in Matters of Religion, but also in our Civil Concerns and Liberties, we have a very fair Way traced out to us by the Parliament, to settle and secure them both, and make the Three Nations happy thereby; if some therein would but rectify their Opinions, and bring them to Things as God would have them, and not strive to bring Things

with

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

with so much Hazard and Difficulty to their Opinions like one that, being scorched with standing too near the Fire, rather than stir an Inch from the Place where he hath set down his Foot, casts about for Masons and Workmen to pull the House down, that so he may set the Chimney further off from him.

‘ Give me Leave to speak one Word more in this familiar Way of Expression, in the Dialect, and to the Sense and Experience, of every plain Country-man.

‘ The late Wars and Confusions had so trod and trampled down the Quickwood, whereby the Hedge was made to fence in our Laws and Liberties, that there is a Necessity of setting it over again: Now some will admit of no other Way but to set the very same old Plants in the very self-same old Bank: Others run so far to the Extreme on the other Side, that they will have none of the old Sets, none of the old Bank, no Bank at all; but will have their Fence set upon a Level, and upon the plain Ground. A third Sort like a middle Way; as on the one Side not to meddle with the old, dry, and dead Bank; for that, upon often Essays and Treaties, it hath been found the Sets will not take in it; so, on the other Side, not to set them upon the plain Ground, lest the Beasts, and the Herds, and Flocks should tread them down at every Turn, as they pass to and fro, according as their Food and Fancy leads them; but to place the Sets in two Tables, upon a Bank, raised up as before, but of fresh and live Mould; and to make Use of all Plants, both old and new, that will take to the fresh Ground, and thrive in it. The Country Man finds this no ill Husbandry in his Way; and we may find the like no ill Policy in our Way: And, truly, if it please the Lord to water our new-set Plants with the Dews of Heaven; and that, by our own Discord amongst ourselves, falling one from another, and from the Banks we stand upon, we do not open Gaps for them who would make a Breach in our Wound; we have

have great Opportunities and Advantages, by what the Parliament hath already done, to settle a firm and lasting Fence about our Liberties, both Civil and Spiritual; and such a one as no Beasts of the Field, neither great nor small, no Persons whatsoever, neither high nor low, shall be able to pass through it, or get over it, or tread it down: But then we must beware and take Heed of the subtle Devices of such, who, designing to destroy it, judge, and not without Reason, they have no such Time to compass their Purpose, as to disturb and distract our Settlement in the Infancy thereof, before the two Rows of Sets have taken deep Root in the Bank, and before they be grown up together, and are interweaved and plashed one into the other. For then, they fear it will be too late to do it; the Fence will be grown strong, like a treble Cord, which cannot easily be broken, unless they can untwist it and unravel it again: Which, after some Time and Continuance, and the mutual Intercourses of Love and Experience of each other's Usefulness to one another, and to the Commonwealth, it will not be easy for them to do.

Inter regnum.

1657.

January.

Therefore we must have an Eye not only to the wild Boars of the Forest, that they root not up our Fence, but also to the Foxes. *Oh take us those, those little Foxes which spoil the Vines; for our Vine hath tender Grapes!* Let the Chief Magistrate and the two Houses of Parliament esteem each other as Bone of their Bone, and Flesh of their Flesh: Let them be of one Heart, and like the Form and Figure of an Heart, which, tho' triangular, is but one Heart; Let there be one Mind, one Soul, and one Spirit, that may act and animate the whole, and every Part; and be whole in the Whole, and whole in every Part: Let one and the same good Blood run in and through them all, and, by a perpetual Circulation, preserve the whole, and every Part, in perfect Unity, Strength, and Vigour.

This Constitution of a Chief Magistrate and Two Houses of Parliament, is not a Pageantry, but a real and well-measured Advantage to itself, and to the

The Parliamentary HISTORY

the Commonwealth ; and so consonant to Reason, that it is the very Emblem and Idea of Reason itself, which reasoneth and discourseth by a Medium between two Extremes. If there be two Extremes, and the one vary from the other, how shall they be reconciled, if there be no Medium to bring them together ? Where one cannot prevail with one, two may with a third : Where one Foot slippeth, indeed the other may keep the Body from falling ; but if both be tripped up, and it fall, what shall relieve it, if there be not a third to put forth a Hand to help it up again ? If one be assaulted, will not the other be concerned in it, and run to its Defence ? But if both be attempted and exposed to Violence, will they not stand in Need of a Protector ? If some Hazard must be run in popular Elections, to preserve the People's Freedoms, may there not be some Help therein by the Election of a Chief Magistrate, that it turn not at any Time to its own Prejudice ? If any Thing inconvenient should chance to slip out at one Door, must it not pass two more, before it come abroad to the Detriment of the People ; How exact, and of how great Respect and Authority, will be all your Acts, Laws, and Resolutions ; when as, after that they have passed the Examination of that great Body, which sees with the Eyes of the Three Nations, and is acquainted with the Condition, and sensible of the Necessities, of every individual Part thereof, they shall then pass a second Scrutiny, and be published and refined by such as, during Life, shall make it their Business either to fit themselves for, or to be exercised in, Things of that Nature ; being also assisted by all the Reverend Judges of the Land, and other learned Persons of that Robe, so oft as there shall be Occasion to require their Advice ; and when, as after all this, they must pass also the Judgment and Assent of the Chief Magistrate, who is placed on high as upon a Watch-Tower, from whence he may behold at one View, and discover the State of the whole Body Politic and every Part thereof ; and see not only near at hand, but also afar off, how it standeth in relation to Foreign

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reign States, as well as to its own Parts within itself.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

January.

‘ I might enlarge much more on this Subject : And it is not to be forgotten that each House taking a more special Care of what is most proper for it, and it most proper for, whilst the Representative of the Commons provideth and strengtheneth the Sinews of War to preserve the Commonwealth from Destruction in Gross, by public Force and Violence, the other House will preserve it from Destruction by Retale, through the due Administration of Justice, suppressing private Wrongs and Oppressions, which would soon break out into open Flames and public Rapines, if they were not prevented by the Courts of Judicature ; whereof the highest and last Resort is there : But I shall leave what is omitted in this Point to Time and Experience ; which I am confident will speak more fully, and more effectually, and convincingly, than the Tongue of any Man can set forth.

‘ And so I pass on to the last Point, and shall briefly touch on some Difficulties and Impediments, which we may meet with in our Way. And the first, that some may be in Danger to stumble at, is, the Apprehension of Novelty in this Constitution, because it is not in every Point agreeable to what was before. For Removal hereof, let us consider, that neither is the Condition of the Nation at present, as it was before ; and, it may be, it is not good it should be so, or at least, that it is not God’s Will it should be so. It is rather little less than a Miracle, that, after so great Shakings and Confusions, it should so soon come to that State that it is already in : And if we well and wisely consider how great Variety of Humours and Judgments, and what different Interests and Powers these Wars have raised amongst us, and how differently placed and lodged from that which was before, it is no Wonder if every one cannot have what he thinks best in his Judgment to be done, but ought rather to content himself with what he may think next best to that which is first in his Judgment, which probably may be best of all in

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

in itself; for that every one is a partial Judge, as to that Thing that hath taken the first Impression in his Mind, and so passed into a prejudicate Opinion: But, above all, we must have the Peace and Settlement of the Nations, *quacunque data Via*, as a Pole or Star before our Eyes, steering our Course thereby, without giving Ear to the enchanting Songs of any Syrens; and without giving Way to any Suggestions of Indignation, which proud Flesh may assault our Minds withall; but with generous Resolutions press on to Settlement, conquering our Temptations and subduing our own Spirits, if in any Thing, at any Time, they shall rise against this Work; whereby we shall gain more true Honour before Men and before God, than if we had subdued a City, than if we had conquered a Nation: And indeed we shall do no less thereby than preserve Three Nations.

‘ Another Difficulty ariseth unto us from the Dissatisfaction of some of our ancient Friends, who have been, and still might be, useful to us, in the Work which we have now in Hand; which if it be not a greater Difficulty unto us than that of our secret and open Enemies, of whom I shall speak anon, it is a greater Trouble and Grief to us, because that we love them so much, and fear the other so little; not that they are not a formidable Enemy; but now, by the Conjunction of our late inbred Enemy with that old Enemy of our Nation and Religion, and of God himself, who is our Hope, and chiefest Help, we shall have God a greater and closer Friend unto us because we have to do with his greatest Enemy: But for those of our Friends, who content themselves with their Privacy and Country Retirements, in these great Difficulties of the Commonwealth: *For the Divisions of Reuben there are great Thoughts of Heart. Why abidest thou among the Sheepfolds to hear the Bleating of the Flocks? Surely, for the Divisions of Reuben there are great Searchings of Heart! How shall we bind up the Wounds we receive in the House of our Friend? What shall we do for our Sister that hath no Breasts; that will afford*

no Milk? If she be a Wall, we will build a Palace
of Silver upon her; and, if she be a Door, we will
enclose her with Boards of Cedar: If they will
give us any Foundation to work upon, we will
build upon it; we will improve it; we will multiply
Obligations upon them; we will heap Coals of Fire
upon their Heads: If they will not let us follow
them, let them follow us; we will either lead or
follow in the Work of God: And if our Words
cannot convince them, we will endeavour that our
Works may do it. And, what we cannot do our-
selves, we will pray to God to do for us, and to find
out Ways, which we cannot, to re-unite our Hearts
and Hands, who have been engaged together in the
same Cause, and are still embarked in the same Bot-
tom, and must sink and swim, must run the same
Hazard and Fortune together; I mean the same
Issue and Event of God's Providence towards us,
whether it be for Good, or whether it be for Evil.
As to our Enemies, both secret and open, they are
continually plotting and contriving to create us all
the Trouble that they can; and want not Means for
to affect it, our home-bred Enemies being now in
Conjunction with that our great foreign Enemy, who
vaunt themselves of their King, that he possesseth
more Riches, more Crowns, and more Dominions,
than ever any Christian Prince did; and that his
Empire is ten Times greater than that of the *Great*
Turk, and larger than ever was that of the *Romans*;
and that he might, more justly than the *Persian*
King, style himself King of Kings, Brother of the
Sun and the Moon; and that the Sun never sets upon
his Dominions, and the like: And yet, to all these
Riches and to all this Power, to all these Titles, we
are not afraid to oppose the one single Name of the
Lord our God: And if it do not diminish our Dif-
ficulty, yet it doth not a little ease our Minds, that
all our Enemies are reduced to that Head, which
professeth himself to be the Head of that Anti-
christian Faction, which opposeth all the Christian
Churches in the World; and would keep and bring
them under the Iron Yoke of his bloody Inquisition:

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

And

Inter-regnum.
1657.

January.

And every Blow that we shall level at that Head, in way of Defence or Offence, will, in some Proportion, redound to the Advantage of all good Christians throughout the World.

And now it would be very strange, if all good Men should not see, and be convinced, what Thread it was that run all along through our Quarrel in the late Wars: And though, at first, it was more finely spun, and more closely wrought, that it could not so easily be discerned; yet, now that it is unravelled to its Bottom, it more clearly discovereth its Rise by its Resort: And if the Interest of that Party shall be again inthroned amongst us, and brought in upon the Wings of that double-headed Black Eagle, or rather Vulture, what will become of the poor Lambs of *Christ*? What can we expect, but, according to the Agreement between them, a Toleration of Popery in *England* and *Scotland*, and a Profession and Protection of it in *Ireland*, with an Inundation of Looseness and Profaneness on the one Side, and of Tyranny and Oppression on the other? We ought then to believe; and we have good Ground to rest our Faith upon: But, *Cum Deo movenda est Manus*, we ought so to believe, as though we had made no Provision at all; and yet we ought so to make Provision, in Subserviency to God's Providence, as if we did not believe at all. And his Highness doth acknowledge the great Care and Provision of the Parliament, for the carrying on of this War, in pursuance of their most Christian and truly *English* Spirit and Resolution, in owning that Quarrel against that old Enemy of their Religion, and of their Nation: Yet I must acquaint you, That the Supplies granted have fallen short of the Commonwealth's Necessities; because, indeed, they have fallen short of the Parliament's own Expectations, according to the lowest Estimate that they were reckoned at; especially that of the New Buildings^(a):

Wherein

(b) By an Act passed this Parliament, (the Preamble to which recites that the excessive Number of Houses newly built, in the City and Suburbs of *London*, and Parts adjoining, were found to be very mischievous and inconvenient, and a great Nuisance to the Commonwealth)

Wherein what have been the particular Obstructions, and what may be the proper Remedies, as also the full and perfect State of the Revenue, you will particularly understand from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and such other Persons as his Highness will appoint to inform you therein; which cannot be expected at this Time from me, who have already held you too long, and spent too much of your Time, and tired out your Patience, which you will have Occasion enough to make use of to better Purposes.

‘ This only I shall add before I conclude, That though I shall not, I must not, I dare not, flatter Man in the Presence of God, (and his Presence is more than ordinary in such Assemblies as this) yet you all know, and the Three Nations know, and all the Nations round about us know, that the Quiet, the Peace, and Welfare of these Nations doth at present, in great Measure, under God, depend upon his Highness’s Life : And therefore, with Hearts and Hands lifted up to Heaven, let us pray for the Continuance of it, and of the Influences of God’s gracious Spirit upon his Mind and Heart, for the Weal and good Government of these Nations.

Then addressing himself particularly to the Lord Protector, he said,

‘ Sir, whatever you are or shall be ; whatever you have done or shall do ; and whatever Abilities you

VOL. XXI.

N

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wealth) it was enacted, ‘ That for every Dwelling House, or other Building, erected upon any new Foundation in the said City, or within ten Miles thereof, since the 25th of March, 1620, and not having four Acres of Land, at least, occupied therewith, according to the Statute *De Terris mensurandis*, there should be paid to the Lord Protector, for the Use of the Commonwealth, one Year’s Rent at the full and improved Value. And all Houses erected on new Foundations, after the 29th of September, 1657, not having four Acres of Land occupied therewith, were to pay a Fine of One Hundred Pounds for every Offence for the Use abovementioned ; and the further Sum of Twenty Pounds to the Poor of the Parish, for every Month, that any such House should be upheld and continued.’ It was also enacted, ‘ That, for preventing the terrible Consequences of Fires, all Manner of Houses in London and Westminster, or the Liberties thereof, and Southwark, whether upon old or new Foundations, should, from and after the passing this Act, be built with Brick or Stone, or both, and straight up, without jetting out into the Street, upon Penalty of One Hundred Pounds.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

January.

are or shall be endowed with, are not from nor for yourself, but from and for God, and for the Good of Men, and especially of God's People among Men : To which End that you may lay forth yourself and them, and improve all the Opportunities, and employ all the Power, which God hath put into your Hands, is the Hope, is the Prayer of all good Men ; and in so doing you shall have Comfort, you shall have Honour, and we shall have Safety, and we shall have Happiness ; that Happiness to see Truth and Peace, Justice and Mercy kiss each other, and *Christ* sit upon his Throne in these Lands ; not in that literal and carnal Way, which hath so much intoxicated the Brains and Minds of many in these our Days, but in Spirit and in Truth ; and more comformable to that which *Christ* himself hath pronounced, *That his Kingdom is not of this World* ; and yet must all the Kingdoms of the World be subservient to that World which is to come, to that Kingdom which is above.

‘ Whereupon, having our Eyes fixed, let us bend our Course that Way, with our Faces thitherward, discharging every one his Duty in his Place, diligently and faithfully ; and finishing the Work which God hath appointed us to do in this Life ; that, in the Life to come, we may hear that sweet and blessed Voice directed unto us, *Come, good and faithful Servants, enter into your Master's Joy.*

These tedious Harangues being ended, the Commons returned to their own House, and ordered that all the Committees concerning public Affairs, which had been appointed before their Recess, should be revived : But, before we advance any farther in the Transactions of this Parliament, it will be necessary to remember, That, by the third Article of the Humble Petition and Advice, no Persons legally chosen by a free Election of the People to serve in Parliament, were to be excluded therefrom, but by the Judgment and Consent of that House whereof they were Members. In Consequence of this, all those Gentlemen who had been
denied

denied their Seats in the House of Commons, at the first Meeting of this Parliament, on Pretence of their not being approved of by the Protector's Council, were freely admitted. This opened the Door to about one hundred of *Cromwell's* most inveterate Enemies, who had obtained great Credit and Interest in the House, by having been excluded for their Fidelity to the Commonwealth.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

January.

It is also to be observed, That the Protector, when he selected out of the House of Commons those who were his ablest Managers there, in order to institute his New House of Lords, had not taken Care to supply their Places with Men equally attached to his Interest.

These two Circumstances quite changed the Complexion of the House of Commons, and account for their endeavouring to overturn all that had been done for *Cromwell's* Service, in the former Session.

Historians charge *Cromwell* with the Want of his usual Sagacity in this Particular; not considering, that, by the seventeenth Article of the Humble Petition and Advice, he was obliged to give his Assent to that whole Instrument without Reserve. And, consequently his Submitting to such Articles therein as were Restrictions of his Power, was the Price of a Legislative Confirmation of his Protectorship. Besides, there was no Way of Recruiting the Vacancies of the House of Commons but by the Speaker's issuing new Writs for that Purpose, which could not be done without the Order of that House.—But to return :

On the 22d of this Month the Commons being informed, that some Gentlemen were at the Door, with a Message from the Lords, they were ordered to be called in; when it appeared that they were two of the Judges, *Wyndham* and *Hill*, who making their Obeisances, and advancing to the Clerk's Table, the former of them delivered a Message to this Effect :

A Message, by two of the Judges, from the New House of Lords to the Commons.

I am commanded, by the Lords, to desire of this House, that you will join with their Lordships, in an

The Parliamentary HISTORY

Humble Address to his Highness the Lord Protector, That he will be pleased to appoint a Day of public Humiliation, throughout the Three Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

After debating this Message, it was resolved, by a Majority of 75 against 51, that the House would send an Answer thereto, by Messengers of their own. This Resolution gave so great Disgust to the Protector, that,

Who beginning
to call in question
the Authority of
the Other House,

On the 25th, his Highness sent a Letter, directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, which was this Day read, desiring them to give him a Meeting at the *Banqueting-House, Whitehall*, at Three that Afternoon: Accordingly they went up thither, at the Time appointed, where the Protector made another Speech to them. This is not entered in the *Journals*, nor have we met with it, at large, any where else; and indeed it seems, from what followed thereupon, not to have been printed at all. But Mr. *Whitlocke* informs us, That the Purport of it was, an Exhortation to Unity, and to the Observance of their own Rules laid down in the Humble Petition and Advice; because Sir *Arthur Haslebridge* and some others, not allowing of the New House of Lords, had spoken reproachfully of them, endeavouring to raise Discontents between the House of Commons and their Lordships; the latter of whom our Memorialist, being now one of them himself, mentions with great Respect.

On the 28th, the Speaker having made a Report of the foregoing Speech, he further told them, by the Lord Protector's Desire, 'That his Highness intended to have imparted to them a Paper, concerning the State of the public Monies, which he had not then ready with him; but that the House should have it, whenever they did desire the same.' Hereupon it was resolved, That a Committee be appointed to wait upon the Lord Protector, and desire him to cause the Speech he had last made, in the *Banqueting-House*, to be printed; also to communicate to them the Paper concerning the State of the

the Public Monies; and to acquaint him, that the House would take the Matters, imparted to them in the said Speech, into their serious and speedy Consideration.

Inter-regnum
1657.
January,

After which it was resolved, by a Majority of 92 Voices against 84, That no private Business be taken into Consideration for one Month,

January 29. Mr. Nathanael Bacon (f), one of the Masters of the Requests to the Lord Protector, reported, That the Committee having waited upon his Highness, in a full Appearance, at the withdrawing Chamber at *Whitehall*, and presented him with the foregoing Resolutions of the House, he gave this Answer:

That his Highness said, 'He could not have looked upon the Committee as a Committee of the House of Commons, had he not seen the Paper, and the Persons of the Committee.

'That what he spake in the *Banqueting-House*, was delivered to both the Houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons; and that he was exceeding tender of the Breach of Privilege of either House, whereunto he had sworn; and which, by the Blessing of God, he would maintain: and that he did not know, nor was satisfied, that it was not against the Privilege of either House, for him to give an Answer to either of the Houses apart.

'That he spoke to the Houses those Things that did lie upon his own Heart; and that he did acquaint them, honestly and plainly, how Things stood in Matters of Fact; but that of the Particulars he did not remember four Lines: That he had considered with some Persons about the Papers relating to Money, and found some Particulars short, and some over; but he would take them into Consideration and set them right, and would give a timely Account thereof.

'That he desir'd his Affections might be presented to the House; and that he would be ready to serve them, faithfully, in the Capacity he was in.'

N 3

The

(f) Author of the *Discourses on Government*.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

February.

The Commons, after hearing this Report made, began to debate what Answer they should return to the Message brought from the Other House, by Mr. Justice *Wyndham* and Mr. Baron *Hill*: But came to no Resolution, till the next Day; and then only ordered, that the first Thing to be considered should be the Appellation of the Persons to whom the said Answer was to be given, but this Matter not to be entered into till after a Call of the House.—Accordingly,

February 1. The Names of the Members were all called over; and then the Debate upon the foregoing Matter was resumed, which continued that Day, and the next; when, at length, it being proposed to go immediately into a Grand Committee, to consider touching the Appellation of the Other House, that Motion passed in the Negative, by 93 against 87.—However, their New Lordships, desirous to try the Pulse of the Commons once more, sent a Message to them in Writing, by two of the Judges, *Wyndham* and *Newdigate*, to this Effect, ‘That the Lords desired the Commons to join with them in an Address to the Lord Protector, that his Highness would be pleased to issue a Proclamation, by the Advice of both Houses of Parliament, commanding all Papists, and others, who had been in Arms against the Commonwealth, to depart out of *London* and *Westminster* and the late Lines of Communication, and twenty Miles of the same, by a certain Day; and not return to the said Cities, or either of them, during the Space of three Months, nor to any other Place within the Limits aforesaid, save only to such in the Country, where those Persons had their respective Habitations.’ This Message being read, the Commons resolved, without a Division, That they would send an Answer to the Other House by Messengers of their own; and then adjourned the Debate till the next Day.

Feb. 4. The Commons resumed the Debate concerning the Appellation of the Other House; and were

were in the midst of it, when the Speaker informed them, That the Usher of the Black Rod was at the Door, with a Message from the Lord Protector; being called in, and making his Obeisance, he said, *Mr. Speaker, his Highness is in the House of Lords, and desires to speak with you.* Hereupon the Commons resolved, That the Debate on the Appellation of the Other House be adjourned to their Return. The Speaker then left the Chair, and went up with the Members to attend upon the Lord Protector, where his Highness declared this present Parliament to be dissolved.

Inter-regnum.
1657.
February.

This is all that can be gathered from the *Commons Journals*, worth our Notice, touching the Proceedings of this short Session; neither do any of the *Diaries* of these Times supply the Deficiency: But it appears by other Contemporary (a) Authorities, that notwithstanding the Advice and Intreaties of *Whitlocke* and others of the Protector's Council, against the Dissolution of this Parliament, yet the Alarms from abroad daily increasing, and the fresh Informations brought him concerning the Diligence of his Adversaries at home, quickened him to that Degree in his Resolution to dismiss them, that he would not stay for his Coach of State; but taking the first that was at hand, went from *Whitehall*, attended only by Lieutenant-Colonel *Cromwell* his Nephew, and six of his Guards, to *Westminster*; and sending for the Commons to come up to him in the House of Lords, he made the following Speech (b):

Cromwell dissolves the Parliament.

‘ I Had very comfortable Expectations that God would make the Meeting of this Parliament a Blessing; and, the Lord be my Witness, I desired the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to these Ends: The Blessing which I mean, and which

His angry Speech on that Occasion.

N 4

(a) *Ludlow*, Vol. II. p. 578. *Whitlocke*, p. 673. Letters from M. De Bourdeaux, the French Ambassador in England, to Cardinal Mazarin, and from Lord Fauconberg to his Brother-in-Law, Henry Cromwell, in Ireland. *Tburloe*, Vol. VI.

(b) *Phillips*, p. 631.

Inter-regnum.
1657.

February.

we ever climbed at, was Mercy, Truth, Righteousness, and Peace, which I desire may be improved.

‘ That which brought me into the Capacity I now stand in, was the Petition and Advice given me by you, who, in reference to the antient Constitution, did draw me to accept of the Place of Protector. There is not a Man living can say I sought it; no, not a Man, nor Woman, treading upon *English* Ground; but, contemplating the sad Condition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine War unto a six or seven Years Peace, I did think the Nation happy therein. But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a Burden too heavy for any Creature, and this to be done by the House that then had the Legislative Capacity, I did look that the same Men that made the Frame, should make it good unto me. I can say, in the Presence of God, in Comparison of whom we are but like poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my Wood Side, to have kept a Flock of Sheep, rather than undertook such a Government as this is; but, undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you, that had offered it unto me, should make it good.

‘ I did tell you, at a Conference concerning it, that I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other Persons that might interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the Power, to prevent tumultuary and popular Spirits; and it was granted I should name Another House. I named it of Men that shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake Hands with you, and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Parly, that they value, but a *Christian* and an *English* Interest: Men of your own Rank and Quality, who will not only be a Balance unto you, but to themselves, while you love *England* and Religion.

‘ Having proceeded upon these Terms, and finding such a Spirit as is too much predominant, every thing

thing being too high or too low, when Virtue, Honesty, Piety, and Justice are omitted: I thought I had been doing that which was my Duty, and thought it would have satisfied you; but if every thing must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied.

Inter-regnum
1657.

February.

‘Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just Accord between the Governor and the Governed: unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament’s Petition and Advice advised me unto; upon that I took an Oath, and they took another Oath upon their Part answerable to mine: and did not every one know upon what Condition they swore? God knows, I took it upon the Conditions expressed in the Government: And I did think we had been upon a Foundation, and upon a Bottom; and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be advised by the Two Houses of Parliament; and we standing unsettled till we were arrived at that, the Consequences would necessarily have been Confusion, if that had not been settled: Yet there are not constituted hereditary Lords, nor hereditary Kings; the Power consisting in the Two Houses and myself. I do not say that was the Meaning of your Oath to you: that were to go against my own Principles, to enter upon another Man’s Conscience: God will judge between me and you; If there had been in you any Intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this Basis, and have offered your Judgment and Opinion.

‘God is my Witness, I speak it; it is evident to all the World and People living, that a new Business hath been seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement made by your Consent. I do not speak to these Gentlemen, or Lords, [*pointing to his Right Hand*] whatsoever you will call them. I speak not this to them, but to you. You advised me to run into this Place, to be in a Capacity by your Advice; yet, instead of owning a Thing taken for granted, some must have I know not what; and you

Inter-regnum.
1657.

February.

you have not only disjointed yourselves, but the whole Nation, which is in Likelihood of running into more Confusion, in these fifteen or sixteen Days that you have sat, than it hath been from the Rising of the last Session to this Day, through the Intention of devising a Commonwealth again, that some of the People might be the Men that might rule all; and they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that Thing. And hath that Man been true to this Nation, whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? These Designs have been among the Army, to break and divide us. I speak this in the Presence of some of the Army, that these Things have not been according to God, nor according to Truth, pretend what you will. These Things tend to nothing else, but the playing the King of Scots' Game, if I may so call him; and I think myself bound, before God, to do what I can to prevent it.

That which I told you, in the *Banqueting-House*, was true, that there were Preparations of Force to invade us; God is my Witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, within a Day, that the King of Scots hath an Army at the Water Side, ready to be shipp'd for *England*. I have it from those who have been Eye-Witnesses of it: And, while it is doing, there are Endeavours from some, who are not far from this Place, to stir up the People of this Town into a Tumulting: What if I said into a Rebellion? And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me: It hath been not only your Endeavour to pervert the Army, while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the Question about a Commonwealth, but some of you have been lifting of Persons, by Commission of *Charles Stuart*, to join with any Insurrection that may be made: And what is like to come upon this, the Enemy being ready to invade us, but even present Blood and Confusion? And if this be so, I do assign to this Cause your not Assenting to what you did invite me to by the Petition and Advice, as that which might

be the Settlement of the Nation ; and if this be the End of your Sitting, and this be your Carriage, I think it high Time that an End be put unto your Sitting ; and I do dissolve this Parliament : And let God judge between me and you.'

Inter-regnum.

1657.

February.

At this many of the Commons cried out, *Amen*.

By the sudden Dissolution of this Parliament, all the Bills then depending in the House of Commons, were rendered abortive. We have extracted, from their *Journals*, the following Catalogue of them, to shew how many Projects were then on Foot for the Public Service ; and that the Questioning the Protector's Title, and Affronting his Other House, was not the sole Employment of the Commons: The Bills, at this Time under their Consideration, were, For uniting *Scotland* and *Ireland* into one Commonwealth with *England* : For establishing County Registers : For regulating Ale-Houses : For ascertaining of Fines upon Descent and Alienations of Copyholds of Inheritance : For providing for Orphans, and Preservation of their Estates and Descents : For Probate of Wills, and granting Administrations : For compelling Prisoners, who have Estates, to pay their Debts, and for Relief of such as are not able ; For settling of Marriages, and for the registering of them, as also Births and Burials : To prevent Abuses in granting Certioraries : For the Increase and Preservation of Timber : To redress the Abuses in wearing of Gold and Silver Lace, Silks, fine Linen, and Excess in Apparel, and also to reform indecent Fashions : To regulate the great Inconveniences arising from the Diversity of Weights and Measures : To amend the several Statutes concerning Bastardy, Fornication, and Adultery, and reduce them into one Law : For suppressing Customary Oaths : For restraining the excessive Wages of Artificers and Labourers, and to prevent Exorbitancy in the Apparel of Servants : For the better Distribution of the Revenues of Hospitals : To reform the Abuses committed by Attornies, Sollicitors, Stewards and Bai-

Useful Bills depending at this Time.

liffs

The Parliamentary HISTORY

liffs of Liberties, and Under-Sheriffs: To restrain unnecessary Suits upon Bonds or Bills: For Recovery of small Debts; and relieving Persons, in case of small Trespases, within their respective Counties: For impowering, and requiring, Parishes to raise a Stock for setting the Poor at Work: For preventing the Inhabitants of the Sea-Coasts from plundering such as have the Misfortune to be wreck'd there: For prohibiting the making of Malt in the Heat of Summer: For Regulation of the Woollen Manufactory: For the farther Encouragement of Trade and Navigation: For erecting a Court of Law, and another of Equity, at *York*, for the Relief of the Inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*: To prevent the Non-residence of Masters, Provosts, Presidents, Wardens, and Heads of Colleges and Halls in the two Universities: For enabling Trustees to purchase in Improvements: And for repairing of the Highways, and improving the Public Roads.

It is obvious, from the foregoing Speech, that the Commons refusing to own the Protector's Other House as a House of Lords, and consequently a Court of Judicature, was one principal Reason of his resentful Manner of dissolving this Parliament. But *Cromwell's* other Motives for this hasty Dissolution, are more particularly pointed out in the following Letter from Mr. *Hartlib* (p), *Milton's* intimate Friend, to Dr. *Pell* (q), the learned Mathematician; who was, at this Time, *Cromwell's* Resident with the *Swiss* Cantons.

S I R,

(p) From the Original in the valuable Collections of the Rev. Dr. *Birch*, Secretary to the Royal Society. This Letter corresponds with one from Mr. *Payne* to M. *Nieuport*, the Dutch Ambassador, in *Sturloe's* State Papers.

Mr. *Hartlib* was a Native of *Poland*, but had resided many Years in *England*, where he was respected by the Learned of all Professions; and was principally concerned in the first projecting of those Meetings of the Virtuosi at *Gresham College*, which have since been honoured with the Name of the *Royal Society*.

(q) Dr. *Pell*, after the Restoration, took Orders, and became Chaplain to Archbishop *Sheldon*. The Reformation of the Calendar was his Work, assisted by Mr. *Sancroft*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

SIR,

London, Feb. 11, 1657. *Inter-regnum.*

1657.

February.

ON Thursday last I sent away my Letter to Mr. Moreland (s), about Twelve o'Clock, Half an Hour after, I received the News of the Parliament's being dissolved. I durst not make another Letter to signify the same, hoping also that some of the public Persons would acquaint you with so sudden and great a Matter; but, believe me, it was of such Necessity, that, if their Session had continued but two or three Days longer, all had been in Blood, both in City and Country, upon Charles Stuart's Account.

Mr. Hartlib's Account of the Reasons for dissolving the Parliament.

An Army of 10,000 Men, might have appeared with an ugly Petition to the Parliament for the re-establishing of Charles Stuart, presuming they should find a Party amongst them; whilst another Army of 10,000 Men was landing in England, by the Juggling, to say no worse, of our good Neighbours. Besides, there was another Petition set on Foot in the City, for a Commonwealth, which would have gathered like a Snow Ball; but, by the resolute and sudden Dissolving of the Parliament, both these dangerous Designs were mercifully prevented.

Whether we shall have another Parliament shortly, or a Grand Council only of Optimates in the mean Time, we cannot tell.

All the Officers of the Army attended his Highness, on Saturday last in the Banqueting-House, where they were entertained with a Speech of two Hours long; which made them, afresh, resolve to stand and fall, live and die, with my Lord Protector. Here you have his Highnesses two last Speeches to both Houses, as they were taken at his Elbow. There is much Nonsense, especially in the last; but there are very few Men yet that have any Copy at all of them.

I am

Yours affectionately,

S. HARTLIB.

Immediately

(s) Mr. Moreland was one of Thurloe's Under-Secretaries; and, at this Time, Cromwell's Resident at Geneva: But, in the Beginning of May, 1660, having waited upon King Charles at Breda, and made several important Discoveries, he received there the Honour of Knighthood from his Majesty.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

Immediately after the Parliament was dissolved, Orders were issued by the Council, for preventing all private Assemblies under the Pretence of Prayers or Preaching : And so jealous was *Cromwell* of such Part of the Army as was, at this Time, quarter'd about *St. James's*, that he took the Inspection of the Watch at *Whitehall*, for several Nights successively, in his own Person. And having now got rid of his Parliament, and thereby become once more an Absolute Sovereign, he made Use of his Power to new-model the Army, by removing such Officers as he suspected would obstruct his Design. In order thereunto he had dismissed Major-General *Lambert* from his Service, for refusing to take the Oath of Fidelity to him, as required by the Humble Petition and Advice ; but, at the same Time, not thinking it safe intirely to disgust a Man of so great Interest among the Soldiery, he allowed him a Pension of 2000*l. per Annum*, to keep him from any desperate Undertaking.

The Protector also made it his Business so to balance the Interest of all Parties, that they should not dare to oppose his arbitrary Measures, for fear of reducing themselves to a worse Condition than they were in. Yet, notwithstanding all these Artifices and Precautions, he was not without continual Apprehensions. Some Machinations were formed against him by the Fifth-Monarchy Men, of whom Major-General *Harrison* was the Chief : Of this Plot the Protector had early Intelligence, and quickly suppress'd it, by imprisoning the principal Conspirators. But the repeated Information he daily received, from his Spies in the exil'd King *Charles's* Court at *Brussels*, of an intended Invasion in Favour of that Prince, which struck at his own very Existence, so highly alarmed him, that, on the 12th of *March*, he sent for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of *London*, and also the principal Officers of the Army, to attend him that Day at *Whitehall*. What pass'd at this Meeting we shall exhibit from the Narrative thereof published by Authority.

Cromwell informs the City of *London*, and the Officers of the Army, of a Plot in favour of the King ;

The Company being admitted to the Lord Protector's Presence, his Highness represented to them the Danger wherein that City, and the whole Nation, were involved at present, by reason of the new Designs of the old Enemy, *Charles Stuart* and his Confederates abroad, and his Party here at home; who had been at Work secretly to embroil the Nation again in Blood, as soon as he should be able to make his intended Invasion. His Highness told them, that he knew this to be true; that he knew it by Letters of theirs intercepted; by certain Intelligence, from abroad, of their Proceedings; and by Information from the Mouths of such Persons as had been engaged to act with them. He acquainted them likewise, that the Lord of *Ormond*, in Person, had been lately in *England* for three Weeks together (*b*), being come over on purpose to promote the Design, by

Inter-regnum.

1757.

March.

encou-

(*b*) Mr. *Morrice*, in his Memoirs of Lord *Brogbill*, gives us the following Instance of *Cromwell's* great Generosity towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, when he had him in his Power:—The Protector, being informed that the Marquis was in *London*, told Lord *Brogbill* of it, and acquainted him with the Time of his coming there. Lord *Brogbill* declaring his Ignorance of that Matter, *Cromwell* bid him give Lord *Ormond* Notice that he knew of his being in Town; which being done, accordingly, the Marquis instantly hastened out of *England*, Lord *Clarendon* charges Sir *Richard Willis* with having given *Cromwell* this Intelligence.

The Motives that induced the Marquis of *Ormond* to come over into *England*, at this Time, and his Transactions here with the King's Friends, are given in the Life of that Nobleman, written by Mr. *Carte*, Vol. II. p. 175. And, in that Gentleman's Collection of Letters, &c. found amongst the Marquis's Papers, (Vol. II. p. 118. *et seq.*) is a particular Detail of his Lordship's Proceedings in *England*, in Jan. 1657, drawn up by himself, and sent to Sir *Edward Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*; with a Series of Letters on that Subject, between the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and Cardinal *De Retz*: It appears, by these Authorities, that a Negotiation was actually on Foot, to engage the Pope, through the Interposition of that Cardinal, to lend a helping Hand to the Restoration of King *Charles II.* and that his Eminence expressed the highest Satisfaction at the good Disposition of the *English* towards the Holy See.

Lord *Clarendon* also gives an Account of the Occasion of the Marquis of *Ormond's* coming into *England*, and the Temper in which he found the King's Friends; but takes no Notice of the Correspondence that was carried on between the Marquis of *Ormond* and Cardinal *De Retz*.—That there was such a Negotiation, is evident by Mr. *Carte's* Collections above-cited; but, it is highly probable, from the Noble Historian's Silence, in this Particular, that he was known to be too good an *Englishman* to be trusted with such a Secret.

Inter-regnum.

1657.

March.

encouraging and engaging as many as he could in and about the City ; and that he went away again only three Days before : That, in order to this Invasion, *Charles Stuart* was waiting in *Flanders*, having about 8000 Men quarter'd in several Places near the Water Side ; as at *Bruges*, *Brussels*, *Ostend*, &c. and that 22 hired Ships were in Readiness to transport them, waiting only for the Opportunity of some dark Night to slip by the *English* Fleet ; which they might the more easily perform, our Ships being of great Burden, drawing much Water, and so not able to ride upon the Flats ; and therefore seeing a real Danger so near at Hand, and that the Peace and Safety of the City, and the whole Nation, was highly concern'd in it, he desired the Citizens might be made sensible of it, and how much it behoved them to provide for their own and the Nation's Security. To that End his Highness recommended to the Lord Mayor and the Body of the City, the settling their Militia ; and that it might be placed in the Hands of pious and sober Men, well-affected to the present Government, and such as were free from Discontent and Faction ; Persons that might carry on the Work with Alacrity and Discretion ; to put the City in a Posture of Defence, that they might be in a Condition to suppress all Tumults and Insurrections, design'd by the Enemies of the Nation's Peace and Prosperity. — The Citizens, adds our *Gazetteer*, express'd much Chearfulness in the Presence of the Lord Protector, departed highly satisfied, and immediately set about putting his Highness's Direction into effectual Execution.

Who thereupon
resolve to support
the Protector.

A few Days after this an Address was presented to the Protector by the Lord *Fleetwood*, in the Name of the Officers of the Army, declaring, ' That they not only freely and heartily engaged to stand by his Highness with their Lives, but also to improve their Interest with the LORD GOD, for his gracious and mighty Assistance of *Cromwell* in the further Prosecution of the great Work which the Divine Majesty had called him unto !

The

The above-mentioned Attempt in Favour of the King's Restoration proving abortive, *Cromwell* resolved to make an Example of some of those in his Power; and, without admitting them to their Trials by a Jury, revived the High Court of Justice; by which Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewit*, and others, fell a Sacrifice to his Revenge (b). Inter-regnum.
1658.
June.
Persons executed
on account of
the said Plot.

On the 8th of *April* the Protector received Advice of a Victory his Forces had obtained against those of the King of *Spain*, in *Jamaica*, with a Relation of the *Spaniards* losing their Plate-Fleet. Success against
Spain.

About *Midsummer* the Town of *Dunkirk*, which at this Time belonged to the *Spaniards*, having sustained a Siege of some Weeks against the united Forces of *England* and *France*, surrendered upon Articles; and *Lockhart*, *Cromwell's* Ambassador, was put into the Possession of it (by the *French* King in Person, and in the Presence of Cardinal *Mazarin*) in the Name of his Master; to whom the Inhabitants were obliged to take an Oath of Allegiance as Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* (c). The Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester* were present in the *Spanish* Army under the Command of Don *Juan*, which was sent to relieve the Town, and charged the *English* on Horseback several Times so gallantly, that it was with great Difficulty they escaped being either killed or taken. Dunkirk surren-
dered to Crom-
well.

VOL. XXI.

O

Is

(b) The Proceedings against these Gentlemen may be seen in the *State Trials*, Vol. II.

(c) Dr. *Welwood* gives us the following Anecdote, relating to the Affair of *Dunkirk*:

'There was an Article in the Treaty betwixt *France* and the Protector, That if *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it should be immediately delivered up to the *English*; and his Ambassador, *Lockhart*, had Orders to take Possession of it accordingly. When the *French* Army, being joined by the *English* Auxiliaries, was on its march to invest the Town, *Cromwell* sent, one Morning, for the *French* Ambassador to *Whitehall*; and upbraided him, publicly, for his Master's designed Breach of Promise, in giving secret Orders to the *French* General to keep Possession of *Dunkirk*, in case it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the Matter, as indeed he did not; and begged Leave to assure him, That there was no such Thing thought of.

Upon,

The Parliamentary History

It was not long after all these important Successes, that *Cromwell* himself was called upon to give an Account of his Conduct to the Supreme Disposer of all Events: For, on the 12th of *August*, he was taken ill at *Hampton-Court*, and died on the 3d of *September* following, being the same Day of the same Month on which he had gained the two great Victories of *Dunbar*, and *Worcester*; and which had, during his whole Protectorate, been annually observed as a General Thanksgiving.

It is not within the Compass of these Enquiries, which are confined to the Proceedings of *Parliament*, to attempt the General Character of this Usurper

‘Upon this *Cromwell*, pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, Here, says he, is the Copy of Cardinal *Mazarin*’s Order: And I desire you to dispatch immediately an Express to let him know that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of *Dunkirk*, to *Lockhart* within one Hour after it shall be taken, tell him, I’ll come in Person, and demand them at the Gates of *Paris*. There were but four Persons said to be privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Marshal *De Turenne*, and a Secretary. The Cardinal, for a long Time, blamed the Queen, as if she might possibly have blabb’d it out to some of her Women; whereas it was found, after the Secretary’s Death, that he had kept a secret Correspondence with *Cromwell* for several Years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the Copy of the Order abovementioned.

‘The Message had its Effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the Possession of the *English*; and, to palliate the Matter, the Duke *De Crequy* was dispatched into *England* Ambassador Extraordinary. to compliment *Cromwell*, attended with a numerous and splendid Train of Persons of Quality; among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and *Mentim*, *Mazarin*’s Nephew, who brought a Letter from his Uncle to the Protector, full of the highest Expressions of Respect; and assuring his Highness, That, being within View of the *English* Shore, nothing but the King’s Indisposition (who then lay ill of the Small Pox at *Calais* could have hinder’d him from coming over to *England*, that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the greatest Men that ever was; and whom, next to his Master, his utmost Ambition was to serve: But, being deprived of so great a Happiness, he had sent the Person that was nearest to him in Blood, to assure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Person; and how much he was resolved to the utmost of his Power, to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendship betwixt his Master and him.

Welwood’s Memoirs, p. 112.

‘*Cromwell*, not to be behind-hand with the Cardinal in point of Politeness, sent his Son-in-Law, the Lord *Fauconberg*, to *Calais*, to congratulate with the *French* King for their joint Prosperity; and mutual Professions were then renewed between them, with new Obligations, Never to make Peace without each other’s Consent.

The perfect Politician, p. 336.

Usurper of Sovereign Power; who, under the Title of Lord Protector, exercised a much greater Authority than any King of *England* was ever possessed of. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, That though *Cromwell* supported the Honour and Dignity of the Nation abroad, with a Spirit and Resolution equal to many, and superior to most, of our Kings: Tho' during his Administration, many excellent Laws, worthy of better Times, were enacted for the Benefit of the Subject at home, and the Benches of Justice filled, by him, with Men of the greatest Abilities at the Bar: Yet not one of our Monarchs, nor even all of them together, since the *Norman* Conquest, ever trampled upon the Liberty and Privileges of Parliament with such Insolence and Outrage: For he absolutely nominated, by his own Warrant, all those that constituted the first Assembly in his Protectorate: He excluded, by an arm'd Force, every Man from his second, tho' elected by the People, that would not subscribe an Engagement to support his lawless Authority: And as to his third, after using all the basest and most unjustifiable Means possible to influence Elections, he denied Entrance into the House to near 100 Members, on Pretence of their not being approved by his Council, before he could obtain even the Appearance of a Parliamentary Sanction of his Power.

At the same Time it must be remembered, to *Cromwell's* Honour, that his regulating the Manner of Elections, by laying aside the lesser Boroughs, issuing out new Writs to capital Towns of Trade, and increasing the Number of Knights of Shires, (thereby tending to make Members of Parliament more really and effectually the Representatives of the People) was a Noble Work, and worthy the Imitation of Modern Times: Tho' we fear it will long remain among the *Desiderata* of our Constitution.

Upon this Occasion, the Observations of two modern Authors, touching the Origin and Foundation of the Lesser Boroughs, will be no improper

Inter-regnum. 1
1658.
September.

The Reasons
why so many
Burgeesses are re-
turned by incon-
siderable Towns.

Inter-regnum.

1658.

September.

Digression: And, first, the learned Mr. Carte (*d*), who accounts for it in this Manner.

‘Great Part of the Lawyers, says this Historian, in the Inns of Court, being infected with Puritanism, in their Zeal for the Cause, laboured to advance the Interest of their Party in the House of Commons; and, in their Searches of old Records, finding several Towns of the King’s Demesne had been summoned, once or twice, by *Edward I.* to send their Deputies to Parliament, (tho’ this wise Prince did not live above twelve Years after his Institution of the third Estate, and varied the little Places which sent Members from Time to Time, only to lighten a Charge, that, when their Representatives received Wages, was too heavy for them constantly to bear) yet on this bare Pretence of their having had one or two Summons, they took it into their Heads to maintain, that these Demesne Towns, many of them inconsiderable Villages, were Boroughs by Prescription; and had a Right, contrary to the Intention of the King who first summoned them, to send Deputies to Parliament in all future Ages.

‘Thus the Earl of *Leicester*’s Town of *Andover*, and near thirty others, in which the Great Men about Court had an Influence, re-assumed the Privilege; and increased the House of Commons, in Queen *Elizabeth*’s Time, by about sixty Members. This seems to have been done, during her Reign, only by the Sheriffs of Counties sending Precepts to such Places; probably by the Direction of powerful Courtiers, who had Interest enough in the House of Commons, (when a Debate arose, in the 13th Year of that Reign, on the Introduction of eighteen Members for Towns never known to send any before) to protect them, and keep the Practice from being censured; but, in the succeeding Reigns, the Commons themselves made use of the same Pretence to increase their Members. Thus the Puritans got the Ascendant in that House: And thus

was

(*d*) *History of England*, Vol. IV. P. 4.

was an unreasonable Disproportion in the Representation of the Kingdom introduced, to the infinite Prejudice of the Constitution.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

When *Edward I.* in the 23d Year of his Reign, first summoned the Cities and Towns, which either held of him in Fee-farm, or were Part of his Royal Demesnes, to Parliament, in order to agree for themselves, and others of the like Tenure, upon the Rate of the Talliages due from them, which had before been fixed either by the Privy Council, or the itinerate Judges, there were not above 106 Places admitted to this Privilege. Of these, fifty-five were either Cities or the principal Towns of Counties, summoned constantly ever since; the other fifty-one were small inconsiderable Towns, Parcels of his Demesne, without any continued Succession; the Places varying whilst the Number was generally preserved. There was no ill Proportion in this Representation, especially at a Time when the Representatives of these Cities and Towns were solely concerned in rating their own Talliages, and had no Suffrage in the Taxation of the Gentlemen and Freeholders of Counties, which was settled by the Knights of Shires alone, assembled a-part by themselves. But the Case is now vastly altered; there is no longer any just or reasonable Proportion in the Representation; for, whilst all the Landed Interest is represented by ninety-two Members, and the Trading or Monied Interest by about an hundred Deputies of Cities and great Towns, there are above 300 Representatives of small, inconsiderable, and many of these, beggarly Boroughs; who, by a Majority of three to two, are able to dispose of the Property of all the landed and opulent Men in the Kingdom, in Despite of their unanimous Dissent. These have been long considered as the rotten Part of our Constitution; and, being venal, as well as poor, they have been the chief Source of the Corruption complained of in modern Parliaments.

Foreigners, that know and reflect on this Inequality in the Representation, which they cannot reconcile to common Sense, stand amazed at hear-

The Parliamentary HISTORY

ing us brag of the Excellency of our Constitution when it labours under so Fundamental a Defect; and are apt to doubt, whether the Sense of Parliament be really the Sense of the Nation. The Evils of this Inequality are great and notorious; frequent Complaints have been made on the Subject, and various Expedients suggested for Redress; but, whether these gave Distaste by a too sudden and remarkable Alteration of the Forms and Customs to which the Nation had been long inured, none of them have been yet adopted, and Room is left to offer another to the Consideration of the Public.

* *Machiavel* observing that all Constitutions alter in a Course of Time, and, in consequence thereof, become subject to Corruptions which threaten their utter Subversion, thinks no Method so likely to prevent the independent Ruin, as by resolving them into their first Principles; and bringing them back, as near as possible, to their original Condition. Were this Method thought proper to be followed, and Parliaments reduced nearer to their original Constitution, which, neither in this, nor in any other *European* Country, admitted any other Representatives than of the Gentry and Freeholders, it may be done by giving the Landed Interest a greater Power and Influence in Parliament, than they have at present; by conferring on all Freeholders, possessed of Estates of 40 or 50 *l.* a Year, (who ought certainly to have a better Share in the Representation, than a Man of forty Shillings) within the Hundreds in which such small poor Boroughs are situated, a Right of Voting, equally with the Freemen and Inhabitants, for the Election of Members to represent the Boroughs; and by making the Steward, or Judge of the Hundred-Court, a joint returning Officer, with the Reeve, Constable, or other Chief Magistrate of the Borough. As Freeholders of that Substance retain more of the old *English* Spirit than any other Set of Men in the Nation, and are the least corruptible, this would cut off at once all the scandalous Bargains now made by Brokers for Boroughs: Nor will it be an easy Matter

Matter to find another Method for putting a Stop to Corruption grown so general, and to the Venality of Elections, less exceptionable than this, which hath the Advantage of being agreeable to the Spirit of our Constitution; and will, without any shocking or glaring Breach of Forms, rectify the unhappy Disproportion which reigns at present. When the infamous Bribery of the Inhabitants of *Stockbridge* and *Hindon* provoked an House of Commons to bring in Bills for disfranchising them (e), had this Expedient of letting in the neighbouring substantial Freeholders to vote with them in Elections been thought of, the Remedy would have appeared less extreme, and it might have effectually stopped a Corruption, which hath not been lessened by the Danger those Boroughs ran of being disfranchised. They likewise may be done gradually, and almost imperceptibly, by a general Resolution of punishing the Bribery of Boroughs, in such a Manner, whenever Occasions should offer: And it would, in Time, reform an Evil, which, if continued, must prove the utter Ruin of the Constitution.'

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

That ingenious Antiquary and Naturalist Mr. *Berlase*, accounts, very judiciously, for the great Disproportion of Burgesses elected in *Cornwall* (f). 'As this County, says he, has a so much greater Number of Boroughs than any in *Great-Britain*, and sends as many almost as the Kingdom of *Scotland* itself (g), it will not be foreign to our Purpose, to inquire into the Original of this so much envied Privilege, of sending so great a Number of Representatives to the House of Commons, from so small a County, and from Boroughs mostly so inconsiderable as to Trade, Inhabitants, and every thing that can intitle Places to Distinction; whilst

O 4

several

(e) In the Year 1702. See Bishop *Burnet's History of his own Times*, Vol. II.

(f) *The Natural History of Cornwall* printed at Oxford, Anno 1758, p. 309. et seq.

This Gentleman also published, Anno 1754, *Observations on the Antiquities, Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall*.

(g) *Cornwall* sends 44 Members to Parliament, and *Scotland* 45.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

several Towns in *England*, much superior in all respects (x), have never been admitted to the same Honour.

‘ This Pre-eminence of *Cornwall* is not antient; From the 23d of *Edward I.* five Boroughs only, (*viz. Lanceslon, Liskerd, Truro, Bodman, and Helston*) sent two Members each, and the County two. *Loftwythel* has held the same Privilege from the 4th of *Edward II.* and sent two Members once before, *viz. in the 33d of Edward I (y).* These are the only six antient Boroughs, and the Number was neither diminished nor increased, till the 6th of *Edward VI.* excepting only in one Instance, which shall be taken Notice of.

‘ At this Time (*viz. in the latter End of the Reign of Edward VI.*) seven other Boroughs, *viz. Saltash, Camelford, West-Loo, Granpont, Tindagel, Michel, and Newport,* were permitted to send up two Members each.

‘ In the 1st of *Mary, Penryn,* and in the 4th and 5th of the same Reign, *St. Ivis,* had the like Privilege.

‘ In the 1st of *Elizabeth, Tregeny* was admitted; in the 5th, *St. German’s* and *St. Maw’s*; in the 13th, *East-Loo* and *Fawy*; and, in the 27th of that Reign, *Callington,* making up the Number of twenty-one Boroughs; which, with the County, return to Parliament forty-four Members.

‘ The Reason of this modern Addition to the Boroughs of this County, may (our Author thinks) best appear from considering that the Duchy of *Cornwall* (then in the Crown, and oftener so than separated from it (z), yields, in Tin and Lands, an hereditary Revenue, much superior to what the Crown has in any County in *England*; and that eight of these Boroughs (a) had either an immediate or remote Connection with the Demesne Lands of this Duchy; a

Link

(x) *Sherborne, Manchester, Birmingham, Ely, Burton upon Trent, Leeds,* and others.

(y) *Notitia Parliamentaria*, by Dr. Willis, Vol. II. p. 37. &c.

(z) Whenever the Sovereign has no Son, the Duchy of *Cornwall* is in the Crown.

(a) *Saltash, Camelford, West-Loo, Granpont, Tindagel, Tregeny, St. Maw’s, and East-Loo.*

Link formerly of much stricter Union and higher Command than at present. Four other Boroughs depended on, or wholly belonged to, Religious Houses, which fell to the Crown at the Dissolution of Monasteries in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* For Instance, *Newport* rose with *Launceston* Priory (b), and with it fell to the Crown. *Penryn* depended much on the rich College of *Glasney*, and its Lands; the Manor also was alienated by *Edward VI* (c), but restored by *Queen Mary*, and the Town privileged by her. *St. German's* was, after *Bodman*, the chief Priory in *Cornwall*; and the Borough of *Fawey* fell to the Crown, with the Priory of *Trewardraith*, to which it belonged.

Inter-regnum.

1658.

September.

‘ The other Boroughs remain to be taken Notice of. *Michel* belonged to the rich and highly-allied Family of the *Arundels* of *Lanhearne*; and *St. Ives* and *Callington* to the Family of *Pawlet*, (Marquis of *Winchester*, now Duke of *Balton*) by marrying the Heiress of *Willsughby* Lord *Brook*, sometime of *Newton-Ferrers*, in this County. Now these several Connections of the additional Boroughs, may point out to us the Rise of this Privilege.

‘ *Henry VII.* reduced the Power of the antient Lords; and, consequently, advanced that of the Commons, ‘ *Henry VIII.* enriched many of the Commons with Church Lands; and, in the latter End of the Reign of *Edward VI.* the Duke of *Northumberland* could not but perceive of what Consequence it was to his ambitious Schemes, to have a Majority in the House of Commons; and *Cornwall* seems to have been pitched upon as the most proper Scene for this Stretch of the Prerogative, because of the large Property (d); and, consequently

(b) The Religious of *St. Stephen's* Collegiate Church being removed from the Brow of the Hill into a lower Situation, contiguous to the Walls of *Launceston*, about 300 Years before, the Town of *Newport* was built on the Ground adjoining.

(c) *Notitia Parliamentaria*, Vol. II. p. 109.

(d) In the 5th of *Henry VIII.* the Revenue of the Duchy of *Cornwall*, with its dependant Rights and Manors, was reckoned, says Sir *J. Dodderidge*, at 10,095 *l.* 11 *s.* 9 *d.* which Property became greatly increased by the Fall of Religious Houses in the End of the Reign of *Henry VIII.*

The Parliamentary HISTORY

quently, Influence of the Duchy: Six Towns therefore depending on the Duchy and Church Lands, and one Borough of a powerful Family, were indulged to send 14 Members. The Ministry of those Days were not so defective in Artifice, as not to oblige powerful Lords, now and then, with the same Indulgence which they granted to these Boroughs; thereby endeavouring either to reconcile them to their Administration, or to make this guilty Increase of the Prerogative less invidious. Queen *Mary*, in her short Reign, (probably from the same Motives) admitted two more; and Queen *Elizabeth*, who never rejected any Political Precedent which might confirm her Power, (though always it must be owned, exerting that Power for the Prosperity of her People, as well as her own Glory) admitted six other Boroughs.

The only Instances which could give the least Colour of Justice to these Proceedings, were few and weak. The Borough of *Tregeny* sent Burgesses, indeed, twice, viz. in the 23d and 35th of *Edward I.* but no more till the 1st of *Elizabeth*. *East Loo* and *Fawy* sent one and the same Merchant, then called a Ship-owner, to a Council at *Westminster* (not to Parliament) in the 14th of *Edward III.* (e). Of these, however, Queen *Elizabeth* laid hold, for the more specious promoting her Designs: In her first Year, she revived the Claims of *Tregeny*; in the fifth of her Reign (f), Burgesses being returned for *St. German's* and *St. Maw's*, in *Cornwall*, the Speaker declared in the House, That the Lord Steward agreed they should resort unto the House, and with convenient Speed, to shew their Letters-Patents why they be returned in this Parliament: But they were no farther questioned, the Queen's Inclinations being well understood (g).

In the 13th of *Elizabeth*, both *East-Loo* and *Fawy*

(e) See the original Writ, *Prynne's Brev. Parliament.* Vol. IV. p. 186, 187, where *J. Shakeslock* was returned at the same Time for *Pebruan* only; and these Members allowed, for forty-four Days, in going to, staying, and returning from *Westminster*, 4 l. 12 s.

(f) *Prynne's Brev. Parl.* Vol. IV. p. 1178.

(g) *Willis*, Vol. II. p. 168.

Fawy elected two Members; which being taken Notice of and examined into, 'Report was made by the House of the Validity of the Burgesſes; and it was ordered, by the Attorney-General's Aſſent, That the Burgeſſes ſhall remain according to their Returns; for that the Validity of the Charters is elſewhere to be examined, if Cauſe be (*b*). 'By which Means little or no Diſpute being made againſt the Queen's Power, the Houſe became greatly increaſed with Representatives, eſpecially by the ſending of Burgeſſes from thoſe Boroughs (*i*).

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

Nor was it any Objection, adds this judicious Antiquary, to their ſending up Members; that theſe Boroughs had little Trade, few Inhabitants, and thoſe poor and of no Eminence: Theſe Circumſtances, in all Likelihood, did rather promote than prevent their being privileged, as rendering them more tractable and dependent, than if they had been large and opulent Towns, inhabited by Perſons of Trade, Rank, and Diſcernment.

'It is true, indeed, theſe Places, ſo ſummoned, were old Boroughs, in the legal Acceptation of the Word; that is, had Immunities granted them by their Princes or Lords, Exemptions from Services in other Courts, Privileges of exerciſing Trades, of electing Officers within their own Diſtrict, and inveſted with the Property of Lands, Mills, Fairs, &c. paying annually a certain Chief or Fee-Farm Rent; moſt of them alſo were Parts of the antient Demefnes of the Crown, and had been either in the Crown, or in the Royal Blood from the *Norman Conqueſt* (*k*), and by paſſing to and from the Crown often, and their Privileges conſtantly reſerved and confirmed at every Transfer, theſe Towns had acquired a Kind of nominal Dignity; but were in every other Light, inconfiderable, and no ways entitled to the Power of ſending Members to Parliament; much leſs in Preference to ſo many more populous Communities in the other Parts of *England*.

Thus

(*b*) *Prynne's Parl. Register*, Part IV. p. 1179.

(*i*) *Willis*, Vol. II. p. 102.

(*k*) Once only excepted, when *Pierce Gaveston* was, by the Favour of *Edward II.* Earl of *Cornwall* for a ſhort Time.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

Thus much by way of Digression:—Return we now to our History of *Cromwell's* Protectorate; which we shall conclude with a Catalogue of those who thought it no Disgrace to receive Titles of Honour from that Usurper, (besides his New House of Lords, and the Judges appointed by him in the several Courts at *Westminster*, whose Names have been already mentioned in the Course of our History,) viz.

VISCOUNT and BARON.

Honours conferred by Oliver Cromwell during his Protectorate.

- 1657, July 20. Col. *Charles Howard*, of *Gillesland*, in *Cumberland*, created Baron of *Gillesland*, and Viscount *Howard* of *Morpeth* (k).
1658, April 26. *Edmund Dunch*, Esq; created Baron *Burnel*, of *East-Wittenham*, in *Berkshire*.

B A R O N E T S.

- 1656, June 25. *John Read*, of *Brocket-Hall*, in *Hertfordshire*, Esq;
1657, July 16. *John Cleypole*, of *Northamptonshire*, Esq;
Oct. 6. *Thomas Chamberlain*, of *Wickham*, in *Buckinghamshire*, Esq;
March 5. *Thomas Beaumont*, of *Stoughton-Grange*, in *Leicestershire*, Esq;
24. *John Twisleton*, of *Horseman's-Place*, in *Dartford*, in *Kent*, Esq; (l)
1658, March 31. Col. *Henry Ingoldsby*.
Henry Wright, of *Dagenham*, in *Essex*, Esq;
May 28. *Griffith Williams*, of *Carnarvonshire*, Esq;
Aug. 13. *Edmund Prideaux*, of *Padstow*, in *Cornwall*, Attorney-General to his Highness.

1658.

(k) Mr. *Whitelocke* had an Offer of a Viscount's Patent, but did not think proper to accept it. *Memorials*, p. 675.

(l) The Original Patent, granted by *Cromwell* to this Gentleman, is now in the Possession of his Descendents, at *Rawcliffe*, in the County of *York*.

of ENGLAND.

B A R O N E T S.

- 1658, Aug. 13. *William Ellis*, of *Grantham*, in
Lincolnshire, Solicitor-General.
28. *William Wyndham*, of *Orchard-*
Wyndham, in *Somersetshire*, Esq;

221
Inter-regnum.
1658.

K N I G H T S.

- 1653, Feb. 8. *Thomas Viner*, Lord Mayor of
London.
1655, June 1. *John Copleston*, Esq; Sheriff of *De-*
vonshire.
11. *John Reynolds*, Commissary-Gene-
ral in *Ireland*.
Sept. 20. *Christopher Pack*, Lord Mayor of
London.
Jan. 17. Col. *Thomas Pride*.
19. *John Barkstead*, Lieutenant of the
Tower of *London*.
1656, May 3. *M. De Coyte*, Resident from the
Court of *Sweden*.
August. *Richard Combe*, of *Combe*, in *Hert-*
fordshire, Esq;
Sept. 15. *John Dethick*, Lord Mayor of
London.
George Fleetwood, of *Buckingham-*
shire, Esq;
Dec. 10. Col. *William Lockhart*, his High-
ness's Resident at the Court of
France.
James Calthorpe, Esq; Sheriff of
Suffolk.
15. *Robert Tichburn*, Lord Mayor of
London.
Lislebone Long, Recorder of *London*.
Jan. 6. Col. *James Whitlocke*, Son of the
Lord-Commissioner.
March 3. *Thomas Dickenson*, Alderman of
York.
1657, June 11. *Richard Stainer*, Commander of
the *Speaker Frigate*.
Aug. 26. *William Wheeler*, of *Channel-Row*,
Westminster, Esq;

KNIGHTS.

The Parliamentary HISTORY K N I G H T S.

1657, Nov. 2. *Edward Ward*, Esq; Sheriff of Norfolk.

14. *Thomas Andrews*,
Dec. 5. *Thomas Foot*,
 Thomas Atkins,
 Col. *John Hewson*. } Aldermen of London.

Jan. 6. *James Drax*, Esq;

Feb. 11. *Henry Pickering*, of Cambridge-
shire, Esq;

Col. *Philip Twissleton*.

March 9. *John Lenthall*, Esq; Son of *Wil-
liam Lenthall*, Master of the
Rolls.

John Ireton, Alderman of London.

To these may, not improperly, be added the Names of the several Barristers called to the Degree of Serjeants at Law, during *Cromwell's* Protectorate; many of whom, after the Restoration, became the great Ornaments of the Bench.

1653, Jan. 25. *Richard Pepys*, *Thomas Fletcher*,
and *Matthew Hale*, Esqrs.

Feb. 9. *William Steel*, Esq; Recorder of
London, afterwards Lord Chief
Baron of the Exchequer; and,
since, Lord Chancellor of Ire-
land.

John *Maynard*, *Richard Newdi-
gate*, *Thomas Twisden*, and *Hugh
Wyndham*, Esqrs.

1654, June 21. *Unton Croke* and *John Parker*,
Esqrs.

1655, — 28. *Roger Hill*, Esq;

1656, Oct. 25. *William Shephard*, Esq;

Nov. 17. *John Fountain* and *Evan Seys*, Esqrs.

Besides the Honours conferred by *Oliver Crom-
well*, his Son *Henry*, when Lord-Deputy of Ireland;
knighted the following Persons, viz. Col. *Matthew
Tomlinson*, Col. *Robert Goodwin*, and *Henry Jones*,
Esq; a Volunteer at *Dunkirk*.

Immediate ly

Immediately upon the News of *Cromwell's* being dead, the following Account thereof was published by Authority:

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

Whitehall, Sept. 3, 1658.

HIS most Serene and Renowned Highness Oliver Lord Protector, being, after a Sickness of about fourteen Days (which appeared an Ague in the Beginning) reduced to a very low Condition of Body, began early this Morning to draw near the Gate of Death; and it pleased God, about Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, to put a Period to his Life.

We would willingly expresse, upon this sad Occasion, the deep Sorrow which hath possessed the Minds of his most noble Son and Successor, and other dearest Relations, had we Language sufficient: but all that we can use, will fall short of the Merits of that most excellent Prince (a).

The Privy Council declare his eldest Son *Richard* to be his Successor.

His

(a) In a Letter from *Richard Cromwell*, to a Relation of his, he expresses himself in this Manner concerning his Father's Sickness; from whence may be formed some Idea of his own Disposition and Abilities.

Whitehall, August 28, 1658.

For my worthy Friend Captain *John Danche*, at *Peusey*, near *Abington*, in *Berkshire*.

SIR,

I Intended to have written to you by the first Return, but since his Highness has been so ill, that I have not had either Opportunity or Desire to set Pen to Paper; we have not been without very great Fears; for his Highness's Illness hath been such as hath put the Physicians to a Nonplus. Our Hopes are somewhat increased by this Fit of an Ague; and shall it please God to go on with his gentle Hand, and bring him temperately out of this Fit, and not renew it, at the Time his former Fit began, or visit us with a Quartan, we shall have some reviving Comfort, and cause to magnify his Goodness; it being a new Life to his Highness and the Affairs as they now stand, of this Nation, with the Protestant Interest of Christendom. I believe the Rumours of this dangerous Illness hath flown into all Parts of this Nation, and hath caused several Persons of ill Affections to pick up their Ears, which will cause Friends to be vigilant; for they will hope they have a Game to play: It is a Time that will discover all Colours, and much of the Disposition of the Nation may now be gathered. I heard that those who have been Enemies, others that have been no Friends, some of both, are startled; fearing their Possessions, and worse Conditions, not considering their Affection, in this Hazard his Highness is in. It must be the Goodness of God that shall save him,

The Parliamentary HISTORY

‘His first Undertakings for the Publick Interest, his working Things all along, as it were, out of the Rock; his founding a Military Discipline in these Nations, such as is not to be found in any Example of preceding Times; and whereby the Noble Soldiery of these Nations may, without Flattery

him, and his Knowledge of the State of England and Christendom; the Spirit of Prayer which is poured out for him, and the Faith which is acted on Behalf of him, gives us the best Comfort and Hopes: Mine and my Wife’s Respects to your Father and Mother.’

and of yours. I rest yours,

R. CROMWELL.

For the above Letter, and several others of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, we are obliged to the Hon. Horace Walpole, Esq; Member of Parliament for Lynn, who transcribed them from the Original found at Pensky, the Seat of the Dunche’s Family, in Berkshire.

Sir Phillip Warwick and Mr. Ludlow inform us, That during Cromwell’s Illness, Goodwyn, his Chaplain, used this Expression in his Prayer, Lord, we beg not for his Recovery, for that thou hast already granted and assured us of; but for his speedy Recovery, because there are divers Things of great Moment to be dispatched by him.

Another Contemporary, (in a Pamphlet, intituled, *A Second Narrative of the late Parliament, printed in the fifth Year of England’s Slavery, under its new Monarchy 1658*.) writes, That when the News of Cromwell’s Death was brought to the Ministers and others who were praying for him, in the Chapel at Whitehall, Peter Sterry, one of his Chaplains, stood up and desired the Company not to be troubled: For, said he, This is good News: Then holding forth his Bible, he spoke to this Purpose: That if that were the Word of God, then as certainly that blessed holy Spirit (meaning the late Protector) was with Christ at the Right Hand of the Father: And if he were there, what might not his Family, and the People of God, now expect from him? For if he were so useful and helpful, and so much Good was influenced, from him to them, when he was here in a mortal State, how much more Influence would come from him now he was in Heaven? The Father, Son, and Spirit, thro’ him, bestowing Gifts and Graces upon them.—With a great deal more to the same blasphemous Purpose.

But these Enthusiastic Rhapsodies were not confined to Cromwell’s Chaplains; for Fleetwood, Henry Cromwell, Lord Fauconberg, Thurloe, and others, fall very little short of them; as may be seen in their Letters on Occasion of the Protector’s Sickness and Death; of which the following Extracts are a sufficient Specimen, viz,

THURLOE’S Letter to HENRY CROMWELL, Lord Deputy of Ireland, August 24, 1658.

‘Your Excellency will easily imagine, how much Trouble we are all under here, on Occasion of his Highness’s Illness: And though it shall please the Lord to recover him again, yet certainly considering the Time that this Visitation is in, and other Circumstances

rela-

tery, be commended for Piety, Moderation; and Obedience, as a Pattern to be imitated, but hardly to be equalled, by succeeding Generations: His Wisdom and Piety in Things Divine; his Prudence in Management of Civil Affairs, and Conduct of Military, and admirable Successes in all, made him a Prince indeed among the People of God; by whose Prayers being lifted up to the Supreme Dignity, he became more highly seated in their Hearts, because, in all his Actings, it was evident that the main De-
 Vol. XXI. P sign

Inter-regnum.

1658.

September.

relating thereunto, it cannot but greatly affect us all towards God; and make us deeply sensible how much our Dependance is upon him, in whose Hands is the Life and Breath of this his old Servant; and if he should take him away from amongst us, how terrible a Blow it would be to all the good People of the Land; and that therefore we should be careful how we walk towards God, lest we provoke him to depart from us, and bring upon us this great Evil. The People of God, here, pray much for his Recovery, and I hope those in Ireland will do the same; for to have his Life spared, and his Health restored, by Prayer, will be a great Addition to the Mercy.

General FLEETWOOD to HENRY CROMWELL of the same Date with the above.

There are none but what are deeply concerned in this Dispensation of the Lord towards his Highness, that have a true Love to the blessed Cause: For the further carrying on of the same, the Lord will bring him forth with more Vigour, Life, and Zeal, his Highness having had very great Discoveries of the Lord to him in his Sickness; and hath had some Assurances of his being restored, and made further serviceable in this Work: This latter is secretly kept, and therefore I shall desire it may not go further than your own Breast; but I think there is that in this Experience, which may truly be worthy of your further Knowledge.

THURLOX to HENRY CROMWELL, Sept. 4, 1658.

The Lord Protector died Yesterday, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon. I am not able to speak or write, this Stroke is so sore, so unexpected; the Providence of God in it so stupendous, considering the Person that is fallen, the Time and Season wherein God took him away, with other Circumstances, that I can do nothing but put my Mouth in the Dust, and say, *It is the Lord*; and though his Ways be not always known, yet they are always righteous; and we must submit to his Will, and resign up ourselves to him with all our Concernments.

It is not to be said what Affliction the Army and all People shew to his late Highness; his Name is already precious. Never was there any Man so prayed for as he was during his Sickness; solemn Assemblies meeting, every Day, to beseech the Lord for the Continuance of his Life; so that he is gone to Heaven, embalmed with the Tears of his People, and upon Wings of the Prayers of the Saints. *State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 355, et seq.*

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

sign was to make his own Interest one and the same with theirs, that it might be subservient to the great Interest of *Jesus Christ*.

And in the promoting of this, his Spirit knew no Bounds; his Affection could not be confined at home, but broke forth into Foreign Parts, where he was, by good Men, universally admired as an Extraordinary Person raised up of God, and by them owned as the great Protector and Patron of the Evangelical Profession. This being said, and the World itself witness of it, we can only add, That God gave him Blessings proportionable to all these Virtues; and made him a Blessing to us, by his Wisdom and Valour to secure our Peace and Liberty, and to revive the antient Renown and Reputation of our Native Country.

‘After all this, it is remarkable, how it pleased the Lord, on this Day to take him to rest, it having formerly been a Day of Labours to him; for which both himself and the Day (*Sept. 3.*) will be most renowned to Posterity; it having been to him a Day of Triumphs and Thanksgiving for the memorable Victories of *Dunbar* and *Worcester*: A Day which, after so many strange Revolutions of Providence, high Contradictions and wicked Conspiracies of unreasonable Men, he lived once again to see; and then to die, with great Assurances and Serenity of Mind, peaceably in his Bed.

‘Thus it hath proved to him to be a Day of Triumph indeed; there being much of Providence in it, that, after so glorious Crowns of Victory placed on his Head by God, on this Day, having neglected an Earthly Crown, he should now go to receive the Crown of Everlasting Life.

‘Being gone, to the unspeakable Grief of all good Men, the Privy Council immediately assembled; and being satisfied that the Lord Protector was dead, and upon sure and certain Knowledge that his late Highness did, in his Life-time, according to the Humble Petition and Advice, declare and appoint the most Noble and Illustrious Lord the Lord *Richard*, Eldest Son of his said Highness, to succeed him

him in the Government as Lord Protector, it was so resolved at the Council (b); which being made known to the Officers of the Army, it was pleasant to behold, with how much Content and Satisfaction they received the Notice of it, and unanimously concurred therewith; being resolved, to their utmost, to maintain the Succession, according to Law: Which worthy Resolution of theirs, as it speaks them Men of Honour, Prudence, and Fidelity, mindful of the Merits of their late great Leader, and Common Father, and of the grand Interest of Establishment, after all our Shakings; so it is but answerable to the Worth and Nobleness of his Son, who, in all Respects, appears the lively Image of his Father, the true Inheritor of his Christian Virtues; a Person, who, by his Piety, Humanity, and other Noble Inclinations, hath obliged the Hearts of all; and thereby filled this People with Hopes of much Felicity, through God's Blessing upon his Government.

'The Council having waited upon the New Lord Protector, the President acquainted him with their Proceedings, to which his Highness made a suitable Return, in Countenance and Language, expressing a very deep Sense, as well of his own Sorrow for the Loss of his most dear Father, as of the Faithfulness and singular good Affection manifested by the Council toward his deceased Father and himself, in the present Occasion, and of the great Weight of

P 2 Government,

(b) Sir Philip Warwick, in his *Memoirs*, says, 'He was assured by one of Cromwell's Physicians, with whom he was intimately acquainted, that the Protector, during his whole Sickness, was never Master of so much Reason as to determine any thing concerning his Successor, or Matters of State; altho' it was pretended by Secretary Thurloe, and Goodwin his Chaplain, that he appointed his Son Richard to succeed him; and that the Council durst not proclaim him as Protector untill Fleetwood, his Brother-in-law, and Desborough, his Uncle, had given their Consent; because it was well known that Oliver had signed an Instrument, by which the Protectorship was to devolve upon Fleetwood.

Mr. Morrice, in his *Life of Lord Broghill*, confirms the Account of Cromwell's Intentions in Favour of Fleetwood; adding, That when Cromwell was asked, Who should succeed him? he answered, That in such a Drawer in a Cabinet of his Closet, they should find his Will; but that one of his Daughters had taken it away, and burnt it.

Inter-regnum.

1658.

September.

Government, by God's Providence, now laid up^a on his Shoulders ; and which he could not hope to sustain any other Way, than by being borne up by their Prayers, and by the Prayers of the rest of God's People, whose Peace and Prosperity he would, to the utmost of his Power, endeavour to promote in the Government of these Nations, &c.

' The next Morning, about Nine, the Lords of the Council meeting in the Council-Chamber, gave Command for the proclaiming of the Lord Protector ; and all Things being in Readiness, with divers Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot attending, betwixt the Hours of Ten and Eleven, the Trumpets sounded ; the Trumpeters went before the Heralds and Officers at Arms in their Formalities, and three Serjeants at Arms with their Maces followed. As they passed along the Court, they did Obeisance, three Times, to their Lordships of the Council, who shewed themselves, out at the Council-Chamber-Window, Witnesses of this high and happy Solemnity before a numerous Concourse of People. Then the Officers drawing near under the Window, a Trumpet sounded ; after which one of the Clerks, attending the Council, produced the Proclamation, which was read aloud by Norroy King at Arms, in the following Words :

The Manner of
his being pro-
claimed.

W H E R E A S it hath pleased the most Wise God, in his Providence, to take out of this World, the most Serene and the most Renowned Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth ; and his said Highness having, in his Life-time, according to the Humble Petition and Advice, declared and appointed the most Noble and Illustrious the Lord Richard, eldest Son of his said late Highness, to succeed him in the Government of these Nations : We therefore of the Privy Council, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and the Citizens of London, the Officers of the Army, and Numbers of other principal Gentlemen, do now hereby, with one full Voice and Con-

sent

sent of Tongue and Heart, publish and declare the said Noble and Illustrious Lord Richard to be right-fully Protector of this Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging; to whom we do acknowledge all Fidelity and constant Obedience, according to Law, and the said Humble Petition and Advice, with all hearty and humble Affections; beseeching the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bless him with long Life, and these Nations with Peace and Happiness under his Government.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

RICHARD CHIVERTON,	PHILIP JONES.
Mayor.	JO. THURLOE,
HENRY LAWRENCE,	FAUCONBERG.
President.	EDWARD WHALLEY.
NATHANAEL FIENNES,	W. GOFFE.
C. S.	THO. COOPER.
JOHN LISLE, C. S.	OLIVER FLEMING,
C. FLEETWOOD.	JOHN CLERK.
P. LISLE.	THOMAS PRIDE.
JO. DESBROWE.	EDMUND PRIDEAUX,
E. MONTAGU.	TOBIAS BRIDGE.
GIL. PICKERING.	ED. SALMON.
CHA. WOLSELEY.	J. BISCOE.
PHILIP SKIPPON.	WALDINE LAGOE,
WILLIAM SYDENHAM.	JOHN MILLS.
WAL. STRICKLAND.	E. GROSVENOR, &c.
<i>God save His Highness</i> RICHARD Lord Protector.	

'This was followed with loud Acclamations of the People, *God save the Lord Protector.*

'Then the Heralds, Serjeant at Arms, and other Officers, mounting on Horseback at the Court-Gate, departed towards *Westminster*; and the Lords of the Council, in their Coaches, accompanied them, together with the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal and other high Officers of State, with the Officers of the Army, attended by his Highness's Gentlemen of his Life-guard, the Gentlemen of his Household, and a large Train of Persons of Honour and Quality mounted on Horseback, as also by several Troops and Companies of Horse and

Inter-regnum.
1658.
September.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

Foot; who being arrived in the Palace-Yard, a *Westminster*, Proclamation was made, as before, by Sound of Trumpet, and seconded by the Rejoicings of the People.

‘ From thence they proceeded along the *Strand* towards *Temple-Bar*, where the Lords of the Council and the whole Company being received by the Lord-Mayor of *London*, in his Purple Velvet Gown, with the Aldermen his Brethren, in State, on Horseback, their Attendant Officers, and the Committee of the Militia of *London*, they proceeded to *Chancery Lane End*, and thence to the End of *Wood-Street*, in *Cheapside*; at both which Places Proclamation was made again, and the good Affections of the City abundantly testified by their joyful Acclamations.

‘ From thence the whole Company went to the *Royal-Exchange*, in *Cornhill*, where they arrived at high Exchange-Time; and, in the Audience of an innumerable Concourse of People, his Highness our most Serene Prince, *RICHARD* Lord Protector, was, the last Time, proclaimed; after which, the largest Demonstrations of Love and Loyalty were lively set forth in the Tongues and Countenances of the Citizens of that renowned City, whose Welfare and Prosperity was much in the Eye and upon the Heart of his Princely Father; and their Sense of it was manifested by the reiterated Shouts and Acclamations, upon this great Occasion; many Volleys of Shot also were given by the Soldiery, drawn up there to attend the Ceremony.

‘ About Four in the Afternoon, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, in their Formalities, went to *White-hall*, to make their dutiful Acknowledgements, in the Name of the City, to the New Lord Protector, as well to condole with him for the Death of his late Highness, as to congratulate him touching his own Possession of the Protectoral Dignity, and to surrender up the Sword of the City; who being introduced into a Room of Attendance, the Council in the mean Time met together; and, after a while, their Lordships, together with the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, being admitted to his Highness's Presence

in

in a large Room, the Lord Mayor presented the City Sword to him, which he receiving, immediately returned it into the Hands of the Lord Mayor. Inter-regnum.
1658.

After some other Ceremonies passed, Dr. *Thomas Goodwin* stood forth and prayed unto the Lord for a Blessing upon his Highness's Person, his Government, his Forces, by Sea and Land, and upon all the People of these Nations, &c. which being ended, the most noble *Nathanael Lord Fiennes*, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, and one of his Highness's most Honourable Privy Council, administered the Oath to his Highness, as prescribed by the Humble Petition and Advice (a).

September.

' This being done his Highness addressed himself to the Lord Mayor, expressing his high Apprehensions, touching the good Affections and Fidelity of the City towards his own Person and Government; his Lordship and his Brethren thereupon humbly took their Leave and departed; and his Highness, with his Privy Council, retiring into another Room, a Proclamation, passed by the Council, was there presented and read to him, and consented to by him, signifying his Highness's Pleasure, That all Persons who were in Office under the Government, at the Decease of his late Highness, should so continue till further Directions.

' Then the Council departing, the Officers of the Army went in, and made their personal Addresses to his Highness, by whom they were graciously receiv'd.

' The Ceremony of the Day being over, the Evening concluded with the Report of an hundred Pieces of Ordnance planted upon the Tower.

Our *Gazettier* closes his Narrative with the following Prayer, *May all the Days of his Highness's Life be crowned with the Blessings of the most High God, and the highest Affections of his People.*

Thus was *Richard Cromwell* proclaimed *Oliver's* lawful Successor; and became possessed of all his Father's Greatness, and all his Glory, without the public Hate that vitibly attended the other; in Honour of whose Character, some of the greatest Ge-

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

Richard's Accession congratulated by the Three Kingdoms.

pious' of the Age, as *Waller*, *Dryden*, *Sprat*, and others, sacrificed their own. Both the Universities, also, exercised their Wits upon this Occasion, in poetical Condolences and Congratulations.

Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, in the Name of the Officers of the Army in *England*; *Monk*, for those of *Scotland*; Sir *Charles Coote*, for *Ireland*; and *Lockhart*, from *Dunkirk*; all congratulated *Richard's* Accession, and renewed their Vows of Fidelity to him; Admiral *Montague*, in Behalf of the Navy, did the same; the City of *London* appeared more unanimous for his Service, than they were for his Father's; and most Counties, Cities, and capital Towns in the Three Nations, and even the Plantations, by Addresses under their Hands, testified their Obedience to their New Sovereign.

In many of these solemn Congratulations the young Protector was highly magnified for his Wisdom, Nobleness of Mind, and lovely Composition of Body; his Father *Oliver* was compared to *Moses*, *Zerubbabel*, *Joshua*, *Gideon*, and *Elijah*; to *David*, *Solomon*, and *Hezekiah*; to *Constantine* the Great, and to whomsoever else that either the Sacred Scriptures, or any other History, had celebrated for their Piety or their Goodness, their Wisdom or their Valour, with all the most fulsome Complements the basest Flattery could suggest. — Of these we shall give one only as a Specimen, which seems to have been the Model of all the rest; and this the rather, as it is a direct Contrast to what was presented from the same Body of Men, a few Months after. The Curiosity of this Piece will atone for the Prolixity of it (g).

To

(g) From a Pamphlet, intituled, *A true Catalogue, or an Account of the several Places, and most eminent Persons in the Three Nations, and elsewhere, where, and by whom, Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland: As also a Collection of the most material Passages in the several blasphemous, lying, flattering Addresses, being 94 in Number, which were sent to the aforesaid Person, with the Places from whence, and most eminent Persons from, and by whom they came, and were presented.* — Printed in the first Year of the English Armies small, or scarce beginning to return from their almost six Years great Apostacy.

The Author of this Performance appears to have been a zealous Fifth Monarchy Man.

To his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, Inter-regnum.
1658.
September,

The HUMBLE ADDRESS of the Officers of your Highness's Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

May it please your Highness,

WHEN we call to Mind how God, the great and wise Disposer of all Things, hath, by a long continued Series of Providence, carried on his Work in these Nations by the Hands of several Instruments, making it manifestly to prosper in the Hands of all those that did heartily own his Cause and People; but most remarkably and eminently, in the Hands of that Man whom he had chosen, your deceased Father, whose Memory shall be blest, and will be had in perpetual Remembrance amongst good Men, as having been the great Assertor of the Liberties of God's People, an Instrument to restore these Nations to Peace, a Lover of their Civil Rights, and so indefatigable in his Endeavours after Reformation; the mentioning of whom may well strike our Hearts with unconceiveable Sorrow and Abasement, to think that we, by our Sins, have provoked the God of all our Mercies to give us such a Stroke, by taking from us the Delight of our Eyes, and, under God, the Captain of his People, upon whom the Eyes of Foreign Princes were fixed with Reverence and Expectation.

A remarkable
Address from
the Army on
that Occasion.

Oh! how gloriously did the Lord appear for and with him in the midst of his People, making the Mountains to become a Plain before him, and carrying him upon the Wings of Faith and Prayer, above all Difficulties and Oppositions. How did the Graces of God's Spirit evidently shine forth in him! In his Armies he reckoned the choicest Saints his chiefest Worthies; in his Family, those that were near and dear to God, were near and dear

Inter-regnum.

1658.

September.

‘ dear to him. His Eyes were upon the Faithful in
 ‘ the Land, to relieve many, to advance some, to
 ‘ protect and countenance all. In the Things of
 ‘ God he had a tender and large Heart, to love all
 ‘ the Saints though of different Judgments. He had
 ‘ great Acquaintance with the Lord, mighty in
 ‘ Faith and Prayer, which made him so constant and
 ‘ glorious a Victor.

‘ Your Highness, your Armies, and People, reap
 ‘ the Benefit of his Prayers and Successes ; but, alas !
 ‘ this our *Moses* (your dear and blessed Father) the
 ‘ Servant of the Lord is dead, and shall we not
 ‘ weep? Though we weep not for him, yet we can-
 ‘ not but weep for ourselves. We cannot but look
 ‘ after him crying, *Our Father, our Father, the Cha-*
 ‘ *riots of Israel and the Horsemen thereof.*

‘ When we consider these Things, we cannot but
 ‘ reverence the same Providence, in bringing your
 ‘ Highness to succeed him in the Government, with
 ‘ so much Serenity and general Consent and Ap-
 ‘ probation of the People, when the Enemy so stre-
 ‘ nuously endeavours to promote Divisions and
 ‘ Divisions ; and we cannot but hope, though it hath
 ‘ pleased the Lord sharply to rebuke us, yet he will
 ‘ not cast us off, nor withdraw his fatherly Af-
 ‘ fections from us ; but, in our Returnings, he will
 ‘ give us Rest, and will enable your Highness to
 ‘ carry on that good old Cause and Interest of God
 ‘ and his People upon your Heart continually, and
 ‘ then he will carry you as upon Eagle’s Wings, a-
 ‘ bove all the Malice and wicked Machinations of
 ‘ ungodly Men, to do valiantly in *Israel*, in the fur-
 ‘ ther enlarging of the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*,
 ‘ in maintaining the Christian Liberty of all sober
 ‘ godly Men, though of different Opinions in some
 ‘ Things ; the defending of the Civil Rights of the
 ‘ whole People of these Nations ; and the Reforma-
 ‘ tion of all Abuses ;

‘ And more particularly, that we may open our
 ‘ Hearts before you, we hope and pray that God
 ‘ will enable your Highness to endeavour, that the
 ‘ Army which shall be thought fit to be kept up in the
 ‘ Three

Three Nations, may be continued, and kept under the Command of such Officers as are of honest and godly Principles, free to adventure all, that is dear to them, by all lawful Ways and Means to maintain an equal and just Liberty to all Persons that profess Godliness, that are not of turbulent Spirits as to the Peace of these Nations, nor Disturbers of others, though different in some Things from themselves, according to the true Intent of the Humble Petition and Advice.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

That the Vacancies in your Highness's Council, and other Places of Public Trust, be, from Time to Time, supplied and filled up with Men of known Godliness and sober Principles; that they, with your Highness and your Armies, may make it their Work to carry on the Concernments of the Godly in these Nations, and the Civil Rights of the People thereof, upon their Hearts, with full Purpose to maintain the same; and that a Work of Reformation, tending to good Life and Manners, may be vigorously carried on by the Hands of good Magistrates, and those Things that are vexatious and oppressive to the People may be suppressed.

That the Provision made for the ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient Ministers, and that for the Approbation of Ministers tending to the bringing in of godly and able Preachers into the several Places of these Nations (whereby poor and ignorant Souls may be brought to the Knowledge of the Truth) may be own'd and maintain'd in their Power, according to the Acts of Parliament; and that any who shall discourage or discountenance good Ministers in these Nations, by encouraging loose and profane Persons to oppose and slight them for not admitting such as are loose and profane to the Sacrament, may be discountenanced and punished.

In your Prosecution whereof, we hope that God will assist us to make it known to your Highness, and all the World, that we aim not at any private Interest or End of our own; but that we shall be heartily and faithfully with you, as we have been with

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

‘ with your Father, to adventure our Lives and all
 ‘ that is dear unto us to stand by you. These being
 ‘ the Principles upon which we engaged with your
 ‘ blessed Father, and were blessed of God in, and
 ‘ we trust God will direct your Heart to be fixed
 ‘ and bottomed upon the same Principles, which we
 ‘ are persuaded God will own you in, and bless us
 ‘ in standing by you against all that shall oppose you
 ‘ therein, or make it their Design to change or al-
 ‘ ter the present Government established in a single
 ‘ Person and two Houses of Parliament, according
 ‘ to the Humble Petition and Advice, or shall en-
 ‘ deavour the Subversion thereof, or the Disturbance
 ‘ of the Peace of these Nations.

‘ And we are confident you will have the concur-
 ‘ rent Helps of the Prayers and Endeavours of the
 ‘ People of God, whereby your Heart and Hand
 ‘ will be strengthened to ride on prosperously, to the
 ‘ Joy and Rejoicing of all good Men, and to the
 ‘ Terror and Disappointment of all your Adversa-
 ‘ ries, when they shall perceive you inherit, not
 ‘ only your Father’s Glory and Authority, but also
 ‘ the Hearts of his old faithful Followers; and
 ‘ (which crowns all) the Blessing of the God of your
 ‘ Father; which that it may be continued unto you,
 ‘ and prosper you, in all that you put your Hand un-
 ‘ to, is and shall be the continual Prayer of

Your Highness’s most humble and loyal Servants.

The foregoing Address, which was presented to the Protector by Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and the Officers, then in and about the Head Quarters, we are told (b), was drawn up at Court, and Copies thereof sent to the several Regiments of the Three Nations, to be subscribed.—This is highly probable, when we consider how nearly related Fleetwood was to Richard Cromwell. The presenting one General Address from the Three Armies was the Contrivance of Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in

order
 (b) On the Authority of the last-cited Writer, who gives several good Reasons for his Assertion.

order to display the great Unanimity of the Soldiery in Support of his Brother's Succession (i). But

Inter-regnum.

1658.

September.

The Respect paid to the young Lord Protector was not confined to his own Subjects. Foreign Princes and States addressed their Condolences to him, and sought a Renewal of their Alliances: On this Occasion M. de Bourdeaux, the Ambassador from France (with which Court Oliver had established the most intimate Connections and Professions of Friendship) distinguished himself before all others (k); for at an Audience he had of Richard, to which he was introduced by Sir Oliver Fleming, Master of the Ceremonies, he presented to his Highness two Letters; one from his Majesty of France, the other from his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin, as Chief Minister of State; and delivered himself, in a Speech, to this Effect: 'That his Master, the King of France, having heard of the Death of his late Highness, of glorious Memory, did very much take to Heart the Loss of so great a Captain, and so good an Ally of his Crown: That his Majesty rejoiced at being informed that, in order to the repairing so great a Loss, it had pleased God to establish his Highness, as his Father's undoubted Successor: That it was the Desire of his most Christian Majesty, by all Means, to maintain that Alliance and Amity, which had hitherto been of so great Advantage to both Nations: And that his Majesty, to manifest the Sincerity of his Friendship, would be ready upon any Occasion, either with his Councils or Forces, to assist the Lord Protector against any of his Enemies or Opposers whatsoever (l).' To which the Ambassador added, on his own Behalf, 'That as he himself had a great Affection for the English Nation, having now many Years resided here, and a particular Regard for the Person of his late High-

The Fore-
Ministers:
pay their
voirs to
Highness.

ness

(i) Thurloe, Vol. VII.

(k) *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres.*

(l) Although Mazarin professed so great a Regard for Cromwell, yet as soon as that Cardinal heard, at Paris, of Oliver's Death, he personally waited upon the Queen-Mother of England, to congratulate her thereupon, as the most probable Accident that could have happened to advance her Son's Restoration.

Inter-regnum
1658.

September

ness the Lord Protector, to whom he always bore a profound Reverence on account of his Princely Virtues; so he should at all Times be ready to give his most Noble Son and Successor a Testimony how joyful he was to see his Highness thus happily established in the Government, and how desirous he was to render him every possible Proof of his Esteem and Devotion.

A general Fast
on account of
the Death of
Oliver Cromwell.

The 10th of this Month was observed, by his Highness and the Council, as a Day of Fasting and Humiliation, in a Sense of the Hand of God for taking away the late Lord Protector, and to seek for a Blessing on his Highness, the New Lord Protector and his Government. The same was afterwards solemnized throughout the Three Nations.

Before we make any further Progress into the Protectorate of *Richard Cromwell*, it may, perhaps, be no incurious Digression to take Notice of the Respect he shewed to his Father's Memory; by causing his Body to be interred in the Sepulchre of the Kings of *England*, with all the Obsequies due to Royalty.—The Ceremonial thereof was published, at this Time, by Authority, in the following Terms:

The Manner of
his lying in State
at *Somerset-
House*;

‘On the 26th of *September* the Corpse of his late Highness *Oliver* Lord Protector, having been embalmed the Day after his Death, was removed from *Whitehall*, attended by the Lord Chamberlain, and the Comptroller of his Highness Household, the Gentlemen of the Life-Guard, the Guard of Halberdiers, and many other Officers and Servants of his Highness. Two Heralds, or Officers of Arms, went next before the Body, which being put into a Hearse drawn by six Horses, was conveyed to *Somerset-House*, where it rested some Days privately; but afterwards was exposed to public View, in the following Manner:

‘The first Room the People entered, was formerly the Presence Chamber, which was hung compleatly

pleatly with Black ; and at the upper End a Cloth of State, with a Chair of State standing upon the Haut-pas, under the Cloth of State.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

‘ From thence they passed to a second large Room, which was the Privy-Chamber, all compleatly hung with Black, and a Cloth of State at the upper End ; having also a Chair of State upon the Haut-pas, under the Cloth of State.

‘ The third Room was a large Withdrawing Chamber, compleatly hung as the other with black Cloth, and a Cloth of State at the upper End ; having also a Chair of State, as in the other Rooms.

‘ All these three large Rooms were compleatly furnished with Escutcheons of his Highness Arms, crowned with the Imperial Crown ; and upon the Head of each Cloth of State, was fixed a large Majesty Escutcheon, fairly painted, and gilt, upon Tassity.

‘ The fourth Room, where both the Body and the Effigies lay, was compleatly hung with black Velvet ; the Roof of the said Room cieled also with Velvet, and a large Canopy or Cloth of State of black Velvet fringed, over the Effigies ; which was made to the Life in Wax, and appareled in a rich Suit of uncut Velvet, being robed first in a Kirtle-Robe of Purple Velvet, laced with a rich Gold Lace, and furr’d with Ermins ; upon the Kirtle was a Royal large Robe of the like Purple Velvet, laced and furr’d with Ermins, with rich Strings and Tassels of Gold ; the Kirtle was girt with a rich embroidered Belt, in which was a fair Sword richly gilt, and hatcht with Gold, hanging by the Side of the Effigies ; in the Right Hand the Golden Scepter, representing Government ; in the Left Hand a Globe, representing Principality ; upon the Head, the Cap of Regality of Purple Velvet, furr’d with Ermins ; behind the Head, a rich Chair of State of Cloth of Gold tiffued upon the Cushion of the Chair stood the Imperial Crown set with precious Stones.

‘ The whole Effigies lay upon a Bed of State cover’d with a large Pall of black Velvet, under which

was

Inter-regnum.
1658.

September.

was spread a fine Holland Sheet, upon six Stools of Cloth of Gold tissued; on the Sides of the Bed of State lay a rich Suit of complete Armour, representing his late Highnesses's Command as General; at the Feet of the Effigies stood the Royal Crest of Arms, as usual in all antient Monuments; and over all the following Inscription:

OLIVER CROMWELL,
*Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland;
 Born at Huntingdon,
 Of the Name of Williams, of Glamorgan; and by
 King Henry VIII. changed into Cromwell;
 Was educated in Cambridge, afterwards of Lincoln's
 Inn.
 At the Beginning of the Wars, Captain of a Troop of
 Horse raised at his own Charge;
 And by the Parliament made Commander in Chief.
 He reduced Ireland and South Wales;
 Overthrew Duke Hamilton's Army, the Kirk's Army,
 at Dunbar;
 Reduced all Scotland;
 Defeated Charles Stuart's Army at Worcester:
 He had two Sons,
 Lord Richard Protector in his Father's room;
 Lord Henry, now Lord Deputy of Ireland;
 And four Daughters,
 Lady Bridget, first married Lord Ireton, afterwards
 Lieutenant-General Fleetwood;
 Lady Elizabeth, married Lord Cleypole;
 Lady Mary, married Lord Viscount Fauconberg;
 Lady Frances, married the Hon. Robert Rich;
 Grand-Child to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Warwick.
 He was declared Lord Protector of England,
 Scotland, and Ireland; Dec. 16, 1653.
 Died Sept. 3, 1658, after fourteen Days Sickness of
 an Ague, with great Assurance and Serenity of Mind,
 Peaceably in his Bed.
 Natus, Ap. 15, 1599.
 Dunkirk, in Flanders, surrendered to him, June 20,
 1658.*

' The

* The Bed of State upon which the Effigies lay, was ascended to by two Steps, cover'd with the aforesaid Pall of Velvet; and the whole Work encompassed about with Rails covered with Velvet; at each Corner was erected a square Pillar, covered with Velvet, upon the Tops whereof were the Supporters of the Imperial Arms, bearing Banners, or Streamers, crowned; the Pillars were decorated with Trophies of Military Honour, carved and gilt; the Pedestals of the Pillars had Shields and Crowns gilt, which made the whole Work noble and compleat; within the Rails stood eight great Standards, or Candlesticks of Silver, being almost five Feet in Height, with great Tapers in them of Virgin's Wax, three Feet in Length.

Inter-regnum.
1658.
September.

Next to the Candlesticks, were set upright in Sockets, the four great Standards of his Highness's Arms, the Guidons, the great Banners and Ban-Rolls of War, all of Taffety, richly gilt and painted; the Cloth of State had a Majesty Escutcheon fixed at the Head; and upon the Velvet Hangings on each Side of the Effigies, was a Majesty-Escutcheon; and the whole Room fully, and compleatly, furnished with Taffety-Escutcheons; several of his Highness's Gentlemen attending bare-headed round about the Bed of State in Mourning; and some of his inferior Servants waiting in the other Rooms, to give Directions to the Spectators, and to prevent Disorders.

* The Effigies stood upon an Ascent, under a rich Cloth of State, vested with Royal Robes; a Scepter in one Hand, a Globe in the other, and a Crown on the Head; a little distant beneath lay his Armour, and round about were fixed the Banners, Ban-Rolls, and Standards, with other Ensigns of Honour; and the whole Room being spacious, was adorned in a Princely Manner(a).

Of his standing
in State there,

VOL. XXI

Q

* The

(a) In a little Piece, intituled, *A true Portraiture of his ROYAL HIGHNESS Oliver, late Lord Protector, in his Life and Death, with a short View of his Government*, there is, by Way of Frontispiece, very neatly engraved, an exact Representation of *Cromwell's* Effigies, as above described.

Mr. Ludlow, whose Resentment against *Cromwell*, after his being made Protector, was equal to that of the most injured Cavalier, gives

late regnum.

1658.

November.

'The 23d of *November*, being the Day appointed for the solemn Funeral of the most serene and renowned *Oliver* Lord Protector, and all Things being ready prepared, the Effigies of his Highness, standing under a rich Cloth of State, was remov'd, and placed on a Herse, richly adorned and set forth with Escutcheons and other Ornaments, the Effigies itself being vested with Royal Robes, a Scepter in one Hand, a Globe in the other, and a Crown on the Head. After it had been a-while thus placed in the middle of the Room; when the Time came that it was to be removed into the Carriage, it was carried on the Herse by ten of his Highness's Gentlemen into the Court, where a Canopy of State, very rich, was borne over it, by six other of his Highness's Gentlemen, till it was brought and placed in an open Chariot; at each End whereof was a Seat, wherein sat two of the Gentlemen of his Highness's Bed-Chamber, the one at the Head, the other at the Feet of the Effigies. The Pall, being made of Velvet and fine Linen, was very large, extending on each Side of the Chariot, to be borne by Persons of Honour, appointed for that Purpose; the Chariot itself was adorned with Plumes and Escutcheons, drawn by six Horses, covered with black

gives the following satirical Account of this Piece of Pageantry:

The Council having resolved that the Funeral of the late Usurper should be very magnificent, the Care of it was referred to a Committee of them, who sending for Mr. *Kinnerly*, Master of the Wardrobe, desired him to find out some Precedent by which they might govern themselves in this important Affair. After Examination of his Books and Papers, Mr. *Kinnerly*, who was suspected to be inclined to Popery, recommended to them the Solemnities used upon the like Occasion for *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, who had been represented to be in Purgatory for about two Months. In the like Manner was the Body of this great Reformer laid in *Somerſet-Houſe*. The Apartment was hung with Black, the Day-light was excluded, and no other but that of Wax Tapers to be seen. This Scene of Purgatory continued till the 1st of *November*, which being the Day preceding that commonly called All Souls, he was removed into the great Hall of the said House, and represented in Effigy.

Four or five hundred Candles set in flat shining Candlesticks were so placed round, near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light they gave seemed like the Rays of the Sun: By all which he was represented to be now in a State of Glory. This Folly and Profusion, says our *Memorialist*, so far provoked the People, that they threw Dirt in the Night on his Escutcheon that was placed over the great Gate of *Somerſet-Houſe*.

Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 615.

black Velvet, each of them likewise adorned with Plumes of Feathers.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

November.

* The Manner of the Proceſſion to the Interment was briefly thus :

From *Somerſet-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter*, the Streets were railed in, and ſtrewed with Sand ; the Soldiers, cloathed in new red Coats with black Buttons, being placed on each Side of the Streets without the Rails, and their Enſigns wrap'd up in Cyprus Mourning Veils.

And the Solemn Proceſſion to his Funeral at *Weſtminſter Abbey*.

Fiſt went a Knight Maſhal on Horſeback, with his black Truncheon tipt at both Ends with Gold, attended by his Deputy, and thirteen Men on Horſeback, to clear the Way.

After the Knight Maſhal went the poor Men of *Weſtminſter*, two and two, in Mourning Gowns and Hoods.

* Then the Servants to Perſons of all Qualities ; alſo all the Servants of his Highneſs, as well inferior as ſuperior, as well thoſe within his Houſhold as without ; likewise all his Highneſs's Bargemen and Watermen ; next went the Servants and Officers of the Lord Mayor of *London* ; Gentlemen Attendants on public Miniſters and Ambaſſadors ; poor Knights of *Windſor* ; Secretaries, Clerks, and other Officers belonging to the Army, the Admiralty, the Treasury, the Navy, and the Exchequer ; Officers of the Fleet and Army ; Commiſſioners of the Excife, and of the Army ; Committee of the Navy ; Commiſſioners for Approbation of Preachers ; Officers and Clerks belonging to the Privy-Council ; Clerks of both Houſes of Parliament ; his Highneſs's Phyſicians, Head Officers of the Army ; the Aldermen and Chief Officers of *London* ; Maſters in Chancery ; his Highneſs's learned Council at Law ; Judges of the Admiralty ; Maſters of Requeſts ; Judges in *Wales* ; Barons of the Exchequer ; Judges of both Benches ; Lord Mayor of *London* ; Perſons allied in Blood to his late Highneſs ; the Members of the Lords Houſe ; Public Miniſters and Ambaſſadors of foreign States and Princes ; the

The Parliamentary History

Holland Ambassador alone, whose Train was borne up by four Gentlemen; next to him the *Portugal* Ambassador alone, whose Train was held up by four Knights of the Order of *Christ*; and then the *French* Ambassador alone, whose Train was held up by four Persons of Quality; the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal; the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; and the Lords of his Highness's Privy-Council.

A great Part of the nobler Sort were in close Mourning, the rest in ordinary. They were divers Hours in passing; and, in their Passage, disposed into several Divisions, each Division being distinguished by Drums and Trumpets, a Standard or Banner, borne by a Person of Honour and his Assistant, and eleven Led-Horses, four of which were covered with black Cloth, and seven with Velvet; these being passed in their Order, were followed by the Chariot with the Effigies; on each Side of which were borne the Banner-Rolls, being twelve in Number, by twelve Persons of Honour; and several Pieces of his Highness's Armour were borne by Honourable Persons, Officers of the Army, eight in Number. After those noble Persons that supported the Pall, followed Garter Principal King at Arms, attended by a Gentleman on each Side bare-headed; next him the Chief Mourner, and those Lords and noble Persons that were Supporters and Assistants to him; and bore up his Train; next followed the Horse of Honour in very rich Trappings, embroidered upon Crimson Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes, led in a long Rein by the Lord *Cleypole*, Master of the Horse; in the Close followed his Highness's Guard of Halbardiers, the Warders of the *Tower*, and a Troop of Horse.

The whole Ceremony was managed, with very great State, to *Westminster*, many thousands of People being Spectators. At the West Gate of the Abbey Church, the Horse, with the Effigies thereon, was taken off the Chariot by those ten Gentlemen who removed it before; who passing on to enter the Church, the Canopy of State was by the same Persons

Persons borne over it again; and, in this magnificent Manner, they carried it into King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, at the East-End of the Abbey, and placed it in a superb Structure, raised there on Purpose to receive it, built in the same Form as one before had been, on the like Occasion, for King *James*, but much more stately, where it remained, for some Time, exposed to public View (*b*).

Inter-regnum.
1653.

December.

The Narrative concludes with the following Compliment to *Oliver Cromwell*: 'This was the last Ceremony of Honour, and less could not be performed to the Memory of him, to whom Posterity will pay (when Envy is laid asleep by Time) more Honour than we are able to express.'

Having thus conducted *Oliver Cromwell* to his Grave, return we now to *Richard* his Successor.

Hitherto was nothing heard of in *England*, but the Voice of Joy and large Encomiums on their New Sovereign *Richard*; and this promising Prospect might probably have continued much longer than it did, had not the Necessities of the State required the Calling of a Parliament: For it is to be remembered, That the late Alliance made by *Oliver* with the Crown of *Sweden*, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest of his Engagements, obliged him, in the Spring, to send a strong Fleet, into the Sound, to assist that King against *Denmark*; or at least, by way of Mediator, to induce the latter to accept of such Conditions as the other should be willing to propose. And this could hardly be done without the Assistance of Parliament; the New Protector, therefore, by the Advice of his Council, issued out Writs about the Middle of *December*, to call a Parliament to meet on the twenty-seventh of *January*; till which Day, for near five Months, *Richard* remained as great a Prince as ever his Father had been before him.

Richard Cromwell calls a Parliament.

We have already observ'd, to the Honour of *Oliver Cromwell*, that, in his two last Parliaments, no

Q 3

Writs

(*b*) The Expence of *Cromwell's* Funeral is said to have been not less than 160,000 *l.* King *James* the First's cost only about 30,000 *l.*

Inter-regnum,
1958.

January,

Writs for Elections were issued out to the meaner Boroughs, but only to Capital Towns; and that, in lieu thereof, he had increased the Number of Knights of Shires, in Proportion to the Assessments paid by each County to the public Service. This popular and equitable Scheme had filled the House of Commons with so great a Number of independent Gentlemen of the best Families and Estates in the Kingdom, that he had no Way to manage them, but by excluding, either by Fraud or Force, those who were the true Friends of the Constitution. His Son, *Richard*, therefore, to avoid splitting upon the same Rock, and not having Courage or Capacity sufficient to rule without a Parliament, determined to call his upon the Old Model. Accordingly only two Knights of Shires were elected for each County, and all the petty Boroughs were restored to their antient Usages and Returns, under Pretence of ingratiating himself with the People; but really to make Way for his own Creatures and Dependents. This will appear by the following Catalogue of the Members which composed the Lower House, the Upper being all sufficiently attached to the Protector's Interest by his Fathers or his own Choice and Election.

A LIST of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, BURGESSES, and BARONS of the CINQUE PORTS, returned to serve in the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, holden at Westminster, January 27. 1658.

The Names of
the Members of
the House of
Commons, elect-
ed to serve there-
in,

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Bedford T.

Col. John Okey.

Major Richard Wagstaffe.

Samuel Brown, Serjeant at Law,

Thomas Margets, Esq; Judge-
Advocate of the Army.

BERKSHIRE.

Capt. John Dunch, of East Wist-
tenham.

Sir Robert Pye, Knt.

New-

(c) This List is taken from the *Diaries* of the Times, compared with Dr. *Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria*, and corrected by the *Journals* of the House of Commons.

- New-Windsor* B. George Starkey, Esq;
Christopher Whichcote, Esq;
- Reading* B. Henry Nevile, Esq;
Daniel Blagrove, Esq;
- Wallingford* B. William Cook, Esq;
Walter Bigg, Esq;
- Abingdon* B. Sir John Lenthall, Knt. and Bart.
- BUCKINGHAM- Francis Drake, of Amertham, Esq;
SHIRE. Richard Grenville, Esq;
- Buckingham* T. Col. Francis Ingoldby, Esq;
Sir Richard Temple, Bart.
- Wicombe*, B. Thomas Scot, of Lambeth-House, Esq;
Major-General Tobias Bridge, made his Election
for *Newcastle under Line*.
- Aylesbury* B. Sir James Whitelocke, Knt.
Thomas Terrill, Esq;
- Amertham* B. Francis Drake, Esq; made his Election for the
County of *Buckingham*. In his Place,
William Bowyer, Esq;
Col. John Biscoe.
- Wendover* B. William Hampden, Esq;
John Baldwin, Esq;
- Marlow* B. Peregrine Hobby, Esq;
William Borlase, Esq;
- CAMBRIDGE- Sir Thomas Willis, Bart.
SHIRE. Sir Henry Pickering, Knt.
- Cambridge Univ.* Rt. Hon. John Thurloe, Principal Secretary of
State, and Post-Master of England.
Thomas Slater, M. D.
- Cambridge* T. John Lowry Esq;
Richard Timbs Esq; Alderman.
- Wisbech*. Rt. Hon. John Thurloe, Esq; made his Election
for the University of *Cambridge*.
- CHESHIRE. John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Chief Justice of
Chester, and Chancellor of the Duchy of
Lancaster.
Richard Legh, of Lyme, Esq;
- Chester* C. Jonathan Ridge, Esq; Alderman.
John Griffith, Esq; Alderman.
- CORNWALL. Hugh Boscawen, of Tregothan, Esq;
Francis Buller, jun. Esq;

- Dunchevit*, alias Thomas Gewen, of Bradridge, Esq;
Launceston B. Robert Bennet, Esq;
Leskard B. Thomas Noell, Esq;
 Hunt Greenwood, Esq;
Lestwithiel B. Walter Moyle, of St. Germans, Esq;
 John Clayton, of the Inner Temple, Esq;
Truro B. Charles Boscawen, Esq;
 Walter Vincent, Esq;
Bodmyn B. John Ceely, of St. Wen, Esq;
 Willam Turner, L L. D.
Helfton B. Robert Rouse, of Wooton, Esq;
 Thomas Juxon, Esq;
Salisbury B. John Buller, of the Middle Temple, Esq; made
 his Election for *Eastlow*.
 Edmund Prideaux, of Padstow, Esq;
Camelford B. John Maynard, Serjeant at Law, made his
 Election for *Newton*, in the Isle of Wight.
 Capt. William Bradden.
Portpigham, alias William Whitelocke, of the Middle Temple,
Westlow B. Esq;
 William Petty, of London, M. D.
Grampound B. Thomas Herle, Esq;
 Robert Scawen, Esq;
Eastlow B. John Buller, of the Middle Temple, Esq;
 John Kendall, Esq;
Penryn B. John Fox, Esq; Recorder of this Borough.
 Thomas Ceeley, of Trevisham, Esq;
Tregony B. John Thomas, Esq;
 Edward Boscawen, Merchant.
Bossiney B. Anthony Nicholl, of Penrose, Esq; deceased.
 In his Place,
 Thomas Povey, Esq;
 Samuel Trelawney, of Ham, in Dorsetshire,
 Esq;
St. Ives B. John St. Awbyne, of Clowance, Esq;
 Peter Ceely, Esq;
Fowey B. Edward Herle, of Prideaux. Esq;
 John Barton, of the Middle Temple, Esq;
St. Germans B. John Ghanvile, Serjeant at Law.
 John St. Awbyne, of Clowance, Esq; made his
 Election for *St. Ives*.

Michel

- Michel B.* James Launce, of Pennare, Esq;
Richard Lobb, Esq;
- Newport B.* William Morrice, of Werrington, in Devon-
shire, Esq;
Sir John Glanville, Knt.
- St. Mawes B.* John Lampen, jun. Esq;
William Tredenham, Esq;
- Kellington B.* James Carew, of the Inner-Temple, Esq;
Anthony Buller, of Shillingham, Esq;
- CUMBERLAND.* Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Knt.
Col. William Briscoe.
- Carlisle C.* Col. George Downing.
Thomas Craister, Esq;
- Cockermouth B.* John Stapleton, Esq;
Wilfrid Lawson, Esq;
- DERBYSHIRE.* John Gell, Esq;
Thomas Saunders, Esq;
- Derby T.* Gervase Bennet, Esq; Alderman.
John Dalton, Esq; Alderman.
- DEVONSHIRE.* Sir John Northcote, Bart.
Robert Rolle, of Heanton, Esq;
- Exeter C.* Thomas Bampffield, Recorder of this City; the
Third SPEAKER of this Parliament.
Major Thomas Gibbon.
- Honyton B.* Walter Young, of Estcot, Esq;
Samuel Searle, Esq;
- Totness B.* Capt. John Pleypell.
Gilbert Evelyn, Esq;
- Ashburton B.* Thomas Reynell, Esq;
John Fowell, Esq;
- Plymouth B.* Christopher Ceely, Merchant.
Timothy Alsop, Merchant.
- Okehampton B.* Robert Everland, Esq;
Edward Wise, Esq;
- Barnstaple B.* Sir John Coplestone, Knt.
George Walters, Esq;
- Plympton B.* Capt. Henry Hatsell.
Christopher Martin, Esq;
- Tavistock B.* Edmund Fowell, Esq;
Capt. Henry Hatsell, made his Election for
Plympton.

Clifton

- Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness B.* } Thomas Boon, of Mount Boon, Esq;
Col. John Clarke of Westminster.
- Beralstone B.* John Maynard, Serjeant at Law, made his Election for *Newton* in the Isle of Wight.
Elizeus Crynes, Esq;
- Tiverton, B.* Sir Coplestone Bampffield, of Poltemore, Bart.
Francis Warner, Alderman of London.
- DORSETSHIRE.** Sir Walter Erle, Knt.
Col. John Bingham, Governor of Guernsey.
- Poole T.* Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart. made his Election for the County of *Wilts.*
Samuel Bond, Esq;
- Dorchester B.* James Gould, Esq;
John Bulstrode, Alderman.
- Lyme-Regis, B.* Sir Edmund Prideaux, Bart. Attorney-General to his Highness.
Henry Henley, Esq;
- Weymouth, B.* John Trenchard, Esq;
Col. Walden Lagoe.
- Melcomb-Regis B.* Col. John Clark.
Peter Middleton, Merchant.
- Bridport B.* Edward Cheek, of Gabriels, Esq;
John Lee, Esq;
- S Shaftsbury B.* Henry Whitaker, Esq;
James Baker, Esq;
- Wareham B.* Elias Bond, L L. D.
James Dewey Esq;
- Corfe-Castle B.* Ralph Banks, Esq;
John Tregonwell, Esq;
- ESSEX.** Hon. Charles Rich, Brother to the Earl of Warwick.
Edward Turnor, of Gray's Inn, Esq;
- Colchester B.* John Shaw, of this Borough, Esq;
Abraham Johnson, of London, Merchant.
- Malden B.* Col. Henry Mildmay, of Grays.
Joachim Matthews, Recorder.
- Harwich B.* John Sicklemore, Esq;
Thomas King, Esq;
- GLOUCESTER-SHIRE.** John Grubham Howe, Esq;
John Stephens, Esq;

Gloucester

- Gloucester C.* James Stephens, Esq; Alderman.
Laurence Singleton, Esq; Alderman.
- Cirencester B.* John Stone of Westminster, Esq;
Richard Southby, Esq;
- Tewkesbury B.* Edward Cook, Esq;
Robert Long, of Draycot, Esq;
- HEREFORD-
SHIRE.** Col. Wroth Rogers.
Bennet Hoskins, Esq;
- Hereford C.* Nathan Rogers, Esq
Roger Bosworth, M. D.
- Leominster* Col. John Birch.
Edward Freeman, Esq;
- Weobly B.* Herbert Perrott, Esq;
Robert Andrews, Esq;
- HERTFORD-
SHIRE.** Rowland Litton, of Knebworth, Esq;
Richard Gulston, of Widdiall, Esq;
- St. Albans B.* Richard Jenyns, Esq;
Col. Alban Cox.
- Hertford T.* Isaac Puller, Esq;
Major-General William Packer, not duly e-
lected. In his Place
James Cooper, Esq;
- HUNTINGDON-
SHIRE.** Col. Henry Cromwell, of Ramsey.
Nicholas Pedley, Esq;
- Huntingdon T.* Rt. Hon. John Thurloe, Esq; Principal Secreta-
ry of State, made his Election for the Univer-
sity of Cambridge.
John Barnard of Brampton, Esq;
- KENT.** William James Esq;
Sir Thomas Style, Bart.
- Canterbury C.* Thomas St. Nicholas, Esq;
Col. Robert Gibbon.
- Rochester C.* Richard Hutchinson, Esq; Treasurer of the
Navy.
Peter Pett, Esq; Commissioner of the Navy.
- Maidstone B.* Andrew Broughton, Esq;
John Banks, Esq;
- Queenborough B.* Hon. James Herbert, Brother to the Earl of
Pembroke.
Thomas Bayles, Esq;
- LANCASHIRE.** Sir George Booth, Bart.
Alexander Rigby, Esq;

<i>Lancaster</i> T.	Col. William West. Henry Porter, jun. Esq;
<i>Preston</i> B.	Col. Richard Shuttleworth.
<i>Wigan</i> B.	Col. Richard Standish, of Ducksbury. Hugh Forth, of London, Merchant.
<i>Liverpool</i> B.	Robert Markland, Esq; Col. Gilbert Ireland.
<i>Newton</i> B.	Alderman Blackmore. William Brereton, Esq;
LEICESTER- SHIRE.	Peter Legh, of Lyme, Esq; Sir Thomas Beaumont, of Stoughton-Grainge, Bart.
<i>Leicester</i> T.	Col. Francis Hacker, of Oakham. Sir Arthur Hafilrigge, of Noseley, Bart.
LINCOLNSHIRE	William Stanley, Esq; Alderman. Edward Rossiter, of Somerby, Esq;
<i>Lincoln</i> C.	Thomas Hatcher, of Carleton, Esq; Robert Marshall, Alderman.
<i>Boston</i> T.	Thomas Meres, Esq; Sir Anthony Irby, Knt.
<i>Great Grimsby</i> B.	Francis Muffenden, Esq; William Wray, Esq;
<i>Stamford</i> B.	Edward Ascough, Esq; Christopher Clapham, Esq;
<i>Grantham</i> B.	John Weaver, Esq; Sir William Ellis, Bart. his Highness's Solicitor- General.
MIDDLESEX.	Thomas Skipwith, of this Borough, Esq; Chaloner Chute, Esq; the First SPEAKER of this Parliament.
<i>Westminster</i> C.	Francis Gerrard, Esq; Richard Sherwyn, Esq;
<i>London</i> C.	Edward Grosvenor, Esq; William Thompson, Esq; Alderman.
MONMOUTH- SHIRE.	Theophilus Biddulph, Esq; Capt. John Jones.
<i>Monmouth</i> T.	Major-General Richard Browne, Alderman. William Morgan, of Mahurne, Esq;
NORFOLK.	Col. John Nicholas of Llanmellan, Esq; Nath. Waterhouse, Esq; Sir Horatio Townshend, Bart. Sir William D'Oyly, Knt.

Norwich

- Norwich C.* William Barnham, Esq;
John Hobart, Esq;
- Lynn-Regis T.* Thomas Toll, Alderman.
Capt. Griffith Lloyd.
- Yarmouth T.* Charles George Cook, Esq;
William Burton, Esq;
- Thetford B.* William Stene, M. D.
Robert Steward, Esq;
- Castle-Rising B.* John Fielder, Esq;
Guybon Goddard, of King's-Lynn, Esq; Recorder of this Borough.
- NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.** Richard Knightley, of Fawcley, Esq;
Philip Holman, Esq;
- Peterborough C.* Francis St. John, Esq;
Col. Alexander Beake.
- Northampton T.* Francis Hervey, of Weston-Favel, Esq;
James Langham, of Cottesbrook, Esq;
- Brackley B.* Thomas Crew, of Stene, Esq;
William Lisle, of the Middle-Temple, Esq;
- Higham Ferrers B.* James Nutley, Esq;
- NORTHUMBERLAND.** William Fenwick, of Wallington, Esq;
Ralph Dalavall, Esq;
- Newcastle upon Tyne T.* Mark Shaftoe, of this Town, Esq;
Thomas Lilburn, Esq;
- Morpeth B.* Robert Delavall, Esq;
Robert Mitford, Esq;
- Berwick upon Tweed T.* John Rushworth, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq;
George Payler, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Navy.
- NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.** Edward Nevil, Esq;
Thomas Bristow, Esq;
- Nottingham T.* John Whaley, Esq;
John Parker, Esq; Alderman.
- East Retford B.* Clifford Clinton, Esq;
William Cartwright, Esq;
- OXFORDSHIRE.** Henry Carey, Viscount Faulkland, in Scotland.
Robert Jenkinson, Esq;
- Oxford University* Matthew Hale, Serjeant at Law.
John Mills, L. L. D.
- Oxford C.* Richard Croke, Esq; Recorder.
Major Unton Croke.

- Woodstock B.* Sir Jerome Sankey, Knt.
Miles Fleetwood, Esq;
- Banbury B.* Nathanael Fiennes, jun. Esq; Son of the Lord
Commissioner Fiennes.
- RUTLANDSHIRE.** William Shield, Esq;
Edward Horseman, Esq;
- SHROPSHIRE.** Thomas Mackworth, of Betton, Esq;
Phillip Young, of Keinton, Esq;
- Shrewsbury T.* William Jones, Esq; Recorder.
Humphrey Mackworth, Esq; Town-Clerk.
- Bridgenorth B.* Edmund Warynge, Esq;
John Humphrys, Esq;
- Ludlow B.* Job Charlton, of Lincolns Inn, Esq;
Samuel Baldwin, of the Inner Temple, Esq;
- Great Wenlock B.* Thomas Whitmore, of Ludston, Esq;
Sir Francis Lawley, Knt.
- Bishops-Castle T.* Samuel More, Esq;
William Oakeley, Esq;
- SOMERSETSHIRE.** John Buckland, Esq;
Robert Hunt, of Compton Pauncefoot, Esq;
- Bristol C.* Robert Aldworth, Esq;
Joseph Jackson, Esq;
- Bath C.* James Ash, Esq; Recorder of the City.
John Harrington, Esq;
- Wells C.* Sir Lislebone Long, Knt. Recorder of London;
the Second SPEAKER of this Parliament.
Thomas White, Esq;
- Taunton B.* Sir William Wyndham, Bart.
Col. Thomas Gorges.
- Bridgewater B.* Sir Thomas Wroth, Knt.
John Wroth, Esq;
- Mynhead B.* Col. Alexander Popham, of Honistreet.
Richard Hutchinson, Esq; made his Election
for *Rochester*.
- Ilchester B.* Richard Jones, Esq;
John Barker, Esq;
- Milborn-Port B.* William Garent, Esq;
Robert Hunt, of Compton-Pauncefoot, Esq;
made his Election for the County of *Somerset*.
- SOUTHAMP-
TONSHIRE.** Richard Norton, of Southwick, Esq;
Robert Wallop, of Fair-Wallop, Esq;

Winchester

- Winchester C.* John Hildesly, of Hinton, Esq;
Nicholas Love, of Wolvesey in the Soake, Esq;
- Southampton T.* Thomas Knollys, Esq;
Roger Gallop, Esq;
- Portsmouth T.* Francis Willoughby, Esq;
John Child, Esq;
- Yarmouth B.* John Sadler, Esq;
Richard Lucy, Esq; made his Election for the
County of *Warwick*.
- Petersfield B.* Sir Henry Norton, Bart.
Josiah Child, Esq;
- Newport B.* Thomas Boreman, of Broke, Esq;
Robert Dillington, of Motesfont, Esq;
- Stockbridge B.* Francis Rivet, of King's Somborne, Esq;
Richard Whitehead, jun. Esq;
- Newton B.* William Laurence, Esq;
John Maynard, Serjeant at Law.
- Christ-Church B.* John Bulkeley, of Over-Burgate, Esq;
Henry Tulse, of Hinton, Esq;
- Whitchurch B.* Sir Henry Vane, Knt.
Robert Reynolds, Esq;
- Lymington B.* John Button, jun. Esq;
Richard Whitehead, jun. Esq;
- Andover B.* Col. Gabriel Beck.
Robert Gough, of Dean, Esq;
- STAFFORD-**
SHIRE Sir Thomas Whitgrave, Knt.
Col. Thomas Crompton.
- Litchfield C.* Capt. Daniel Watfon.
Thomas Mynors, Esq;
- Stafford T.* Martin Noell, of London, Scrivener.
William Jessop, Esq; Clerk of the Council.
- Newcastle under* Major General Tobias Bridge.
Line. Edward Keeling, Esq;
- Tamworth.* John Swinfen, Esq;
Capt. Thomas Fox.
- SUFFOLK.** Sir Henry Felton, of Playford, Bart.
Sir Thomas Barnardiston, of Keddington,
Knt.
- Ipswich T.* Nath. Bacon, Esq; 2 Masters of the Re-
Francis Bacon, Esq; 3 quests to his Highness.
- Danwich B.* Robert Brewster, of Wrentham, Esq;
John Barrington, of Westminster, Esq;

- Orford B.** Thomas Edgar, Esq;
Jeremy Copping, Esq;
- Aldborough B.** Laurence Oxburgh, Esq;
John Bence, Merchant.
- Sudbury B.** Samuel Hassel, Esq;
Col. John Fothergill.
- St. Edmondsbury B.** Col. John Clarke.
Thomas Chaplin, Esq;
- Eye B.** Edward Dendy, Esq;
Joseph Blisset, Esq;
- SURREY B.** Arthur Onslow, Esq;
Francis Drake, Esq;
- Southwark B.** George Thompson, Esq;
Andrew Brewer, Esq;
- Blechingley B.** John Goodwin, Esq;
Edmund Hoskins, Esq;
- Ryegate B.** John Hele, Esq; } of this Borough.
Edward Thurland, Esq;
- Guildford B.** Carew Raleigh, Esq;
Robert Parkhurst, Esq;
- Gatton B.** Thomas Sturges, Esq;
Edward Bishe, Esq;
- Hafelmere B.** John Hooke, of Bramshot, Southamptonshire,
Esq; not duly elected. In his Place,
John Westbrook, Esq;
Henry Fitz-James, of Westminster, Esq;
- SUSSEX.** Col. Herbert Morley of Glyne.
John Fagge, of Wiston, Esq;
- Chichester C.** Henry Pelham, Esq; Recorder.
William Cawley, jun. Esq;
- Horsham B.** William Freeman, Esq;
Henry Chowne, Esq;
- Midhurst B.** William Yalden, jun. Esq;
Benjamin Weston, Esq;
- Lewes B.** Col. Herbert Morley, made his Election for the
County of *Suffex*.
Richard Boughton, Esq;
- Shoreham B.** Edward Blake, Esq;
John Whaley Esq; made his Election for *Not-*
tingham.
- Bramber B.** John Fagge, of Wiston, Esq; made his Elec-
tion for the County of *Suffex*.
John Byne, of Washington, Esq;

- Steyning* B. Sir John Trevor, Knt.
Anthony Shirley, of Preston, Esq;
- East-Grinstead* B. Sir Robert Goodwin, Knt.
George Courthorpe, of Tysehurst, Esq;
- Arundel* B. Henry Onslow, of Slinfold, Esq;
Richard Marriot, Esq;
- WARWICK-
SHIRE. Richard Lucy, Esq;
Col. Jos. Hawkefworth.
- Coventry* C. Major Robert Beake.
Col. William Purefoy.
- Warwick* B. Foulk Lucy, Esq;
Thomas Archer, Esq;
- WESTMORE-
LAND. Thomas Burton, Esq;
Thomas Wharton, Esq;
- Appleby* T. Adam Baines, Esq;
Nathanial Redding, Esq;
- WILTSHIRE. Sir Walter St. John, Bart.
Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, of Wimborne
St. Giles, Bart.
- New Sarum* C. Henry Eyre, Esq; Recorder.
Humphrey Ditton, Esq; Alderman.
- Wilton* B. Hon. John Herbert, Brother to the Earl of
Pembroke.
Richard Grubham Howe, Esq;
- Downton* B. Thomas Fitz-James, of Hursley, Southamp-
tonshire, Esq;
William Coles, of Woodfalls, Esq;
- Hindon* B. Major General Edmund Ludlow.
Edward Tooker, of New Sarum, Esq;
- Heistbury* B. John Ashe, Esq;
Samuel Ashe, Esq;
- Westbury* B. Robert Villiers, alias Danvers, of Bassetbury,
Bucks, Esq;
William Eyre, of Weston Esq;
- Calne* B. Edward Baynton, Esq;
William Duckett, Esq;
- Devizes* B. Chaloner Chute, jun. Esq;
Capt. Edward Scotton.
- Chippenham* B. Sir Edward Hungerford, of Farleigh-Castle,
Somersetshire, Knight of the Bath.
James Stedman, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq;
- Vol. XXI. R *Malmf-*

- Malmſbury B.* Sir Henry Lee, of Ditchley, in Oxfordſhire, Bart.
Thomas Higgonſ, of Grewel, Southamptonſhire, Eſq;
- Cricklode B.* Edward Pool, of Kembill, Eſq;
John Hawkins, of Aſhton-Keynes, Eſq;
- Bedwin B.* Henry Hungerford, Eſq;
Thomas Manley, Eſq;
- Ludgerſhall B.* James Davy, of the Middle-Temple, Eſq;
Richard Sherwyn, Eſq;
- Old Sarum.* Richard Hill, of Stratford, Eſq;
Major William Ludlow, of Clarendon-Park.
- Wootton-Baſſet B.* Hen. St. John, of Lydiard Tregoze, Eſq;
Robert Stevens, of the Middle-Temple, Eſq;
Recorder of this Borough.
- Marlborough B.* Thomas Grove, of Bury-Court, Eſq;
James Hayes, Eſq; Recorder.
- WORCESTER-SHIRE.** Nicholas Lechmere, Eſq; Attorney of the
Duchy of Lancaſter,
Thomas Foley, Eſq;
- Worceſter C.* William Collins, Eſq;
Thomas Streete, Eſq;
- Droitwich B.* John Wylde, Eſq; late Lord Chief Baron of
the Public Exchequer.
Edward Salway, of Stanford, Eſq;
- Eveſham B.* Theophilus Andrews, Eſq; Alderman.
Robert Atkins, Eſq; Recorder.
- Bewdley B.* Edward Pytts, of Kier-Park, Eſq;
- YORKSHIRE.** Thomas Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron,
in Scotland.
Thomas Hარიſon, Eſq;
- York C.* Sir Thomas Dickenson, Knt. Alderman.
Chriſtopher Topham, Eſq;
- Kingſton upon Hull T.* John Ramſden, Eſq;
Andrew Marvel, Eſq;
- Knareſbrough B.* Slingsby Bethel, Eſq;
Robert Walters, Eſq;
- Scarſbrough B.* Thomas Chaloner, Eſq;
Edward Salmon, of Havering, in Eſſex, Eſq;
- Richmond B.* Sir Chriſtopher Wyvil, Bart.
John Bathuſt, M. D.

- Heydon* B. Thomas Strickland, Esq; made his Election for *Beverley*.
Boroughbridge B. Matthew Allured, Esq;
 Robert Stapylton of Myton, Esq;
 Laurence Parsons, Esq;
Malton B. Philip Howard, Esq;
 George Marwood, Esq; } Double
 Luke Robinson, of Pickering, Esq; } Return (b)
 Major-General Robert Lilburn.
Ripon B. Edward Jennings, Esq;
 Jonathan Jennings, Esq;
Thirsk B. Col. Thomas Talbot.
 Major-General Goodrick, of Ribstan.
Aldborough B. John Lord Lambert, made his Election for *Pontefract*.
 Francis Goodrick, Esq;
Allerton B. Major George Smithson, of Stanwick.
 James Danby, of Swinton, Esq;
Beverley B. Thomas Strickland, Esq;
 John Anlaby, of Etton, Esq;
Pontefract B. John Lord Lambert,
 John Hewley, Esq;

C I N Q U E P O R T S.

- Hastings*. Samuel Gott, Esq;
 Nicholas Delves, Esq;
Romney. Sir Robert Honeywood, Knt.
 Lambert Godfrey, Esq;
Hythe. Sir Robert Hales, Knt. and Bart.
 William Kenrick, Esq;
Dover. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Kelsey,
 John Dixwell, Esq;
Sandwich. Richard Meredith, Esq;
 James Thurbarne, Esq;

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Win-

(b) The Question before the House was this: Whether *New Malton* alone, or *Old Malton* and *New Malton* together, ought to elect Burgesses. When a Record of 25 Edward I. and an Order of the House of December 11, 1640. and divers other Records and Evidences being examined, it was resolved that *Old Malton* had a joint Right with *New Malton* to elect and send Members to Parliament for *Malton*; and consequently Mr. Howard and Mr. Marwood were duly elected, Col. Lilburn and Mr. Robinson being chosen by *New Malton* only.

Commons Journal, March 7, 1658.

Winchelsea.

John Busbridge, Esq;

Rye.

Robert Fowle, Esq;

William Hay, of Glynbourn, Esq;

Mark Thomas Esq;

Seaford.

Nicholas Meredith, Esq;

James Thurbarne, Esq;

W A L E S.

ANGLESEY. Col. George Twissleton.*Beaumaris B.* Griffith Bodville, Esq;*BRECON.* Edmund Jones, Esq; his Highness's Attorney-General for South-Wales.*Brecon T.* Samuel Wightwick, Esq;*CARDIGAN.* Col. James Phillips.*Cardigan T.* Col. Roland Dawkins.*CARMARTHEN.* Thomas Hughes, Esq;*Carmarthen T.* David Morgan, Esq;*CARNARVON.* William Glynn, Esq;*Carnarvon T.* Robert Williams, of Conway, Esq;*DENBIGH.* Sir John Carter, of Kinnell.*Denbigh T.* John Manley, of Brynchurne, Esq;*FLINT.* John Trevor, Esq;*GLAMORGAN.* Evan Seys, of Boverton, Serjeant at Law.*Cardiff T.* John Price, of Newtown, Esq;*Swansey.* William Foxwist, Esq;*MERIONETH.* Lewis Owen, Esq;*MONTGOMERY.* Edward Vaughan, of Lloydiarth, Esq;*Montgomery T.* Charles Lloyd, of Garth, Esq;*PEMBROKE.* Sir Erasmus Phillips, of Picton Castle, Bart.*Pembroke T.* Sampson Lort, Esq;

Arthur Owen, of Newmoate, Esq;

Haverford-West. John Upton, Esq;*RADNOR.* Henry Williams, Esq;*Radnor T.* Robert Weaver, Esq;

S C O T L A N D.

S H I R E S.

Aberdeen, Archibald Marquis of Argyle.*Fife and Kinross,* Sir Alexander Gibson, Knt.*Perth,* Sir Edward Rhodes, one of his Highness's Council in*Scotland.**Inverness,*

Inverness, Col. Thomas Fitch.

Linlithgow, *Stirling*, and *Clackmannan*, Col. Adrian Scrope, one of his Highness's Council.

Dumbarton, *Argyle*, and *Bute*, William Stene, M. D. made his Election for *Thetford*, in Norfolk.

Lanerk, Col. George Lockhart, his Highness's Advocate.

Mid-Lothian, Samuel Disbrowe, Esq; Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal of *Scotland*.

Selkirk and *Peebles*, Archibald Murray, Esq;

Merce, John Swinton, of Swinton, Esq; one of his Highness's Council.

Roxborough, Sir Andrew Ker, Knt.

Wighton, Sir James Mac Dowel, of Garthland, Knt.

East-Lothian, John Earl of Tweeddale.

CITIES and BOROUGHS.

Edinburgh, John Thompson, Esq; Auditor-General of the Revenues of *Scotland*.

Bamff, *Cullen*, and *Aberdeen*, Dr. Thomas Clarges, of *Westminster*.

Linlithgow, *Queen's Ferry*, *Perth*, *Culross*, and *Stirling*, Thomas Waller, of *Grey's-Inn*, Esq;

St. Andrew's Dysart, *Kirkaldy Poupur*, *Anstruther Easter*, &c. Col. Nathaniel Whetham, one of his Highness's Council.

Lenerk, *Glasgow*, *Rutherglen*, *Rothsay*, *Renfrew*, *Aire*, *Irvin*, and *Dumbarton*, Capt. John Lockhart.

Dumfries, *Sanquhar*, *Lochmahen*, *Annan*, *Wigton*, *Kirkcudbright*, *Whitehorne*, and *Galloway*, Major Jeremy Tolhurst, Burgess of *Dumfries*.

Peebles, *Selkirk*, *Jedburgh*, *Lauder*, *North-Berwick*, *Dunbar*, and *Haddington*, Dr. Thomas Clarges, of *Westminster*.

Forsar, *Dundee*, *Aberbrothock*, *Montrose*, and *Brechin*, Laurence Oxburgh, Esq;

I R E L A N D.

COUNTIES.

Dublin, Sir Theophilus Jones, Knt. Major of Horse.

Meath and *Lowth*, Major Anthony Morgan.

Major William Ashton.

Kildair and Wicklow, Dudley Loftus LL. D.

Col. Henry Markham.

Catherlough, Wexford, Kilkenny, and Queen's County, Major Daniel Redman.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Brett.

West-Meath, Longford, and King's County, Francis Lord Aungier.
Sir Henry Peirce.

Downe, Antrim, and Armagh, Sir John Skeffington.

Major George Rawden.

Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone, Col. John Gorges.

Major Alexander Staples.

Cavan, Fermannagh, and Monaghan, Col. Thomas Coote.

Kerry, Limerick, and Clare, Col. Sir Henry Ingoldsfby, Bart.

Sir Hardress Waller, Knt.

Cork, Sir Maurice Fenton.

Tipperary and Waterford, Sir Jerome Sankey, Knt. made his Election for *Woodstock, Oxfordshire*.

Thomas Stanley, Esq;

Sligo, Roscommon, and Letrim, Robert Parke, Esq;

Thomas Waller, Esq;

Galway and Mayo, Sir Charles Coote, Bart. Lord President of *Connought*.

Col. Thomas Sadler, Governor of *Galway*.

CITIES and TOWNS.

Dublin, Arthur Annesley Esq;

Carrickfergus and Belfast, Lieutenant-Colonel John Duckenfield.

Derry and Colerane, Ralph King, of *Londonderry*, Esq;

Limerick and Kilmallock, Capt. George Ingoldsfby.

Cork and Youghal, Col. Francis Fowke, Governor of *Drogheda*.

Bandon and Kingsale, Vincent Gookyn, Esq; Surveyor-General.

Waterford and Clonmell, Capt. William Halsey.

But, before the Parliament met, a Day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation was appointed by the Lord Protector, to be observed throughout the Three Nations, to seek the Lord for his Blessing upon the Proceedings of both Houses, and the other Affairs of State.

On the 27th of *January*, according to Appointment, the New Lord Protector came to *Westminster* with the same State
and

and Solemnity that his Father had done. The Commons met in their usual Place; and the New Lords, who had also been summoned by Writ to attend according to the Humble Petition and Advice, took their Places in the House of Lords, notwithstanding the Commons, in the last Parliament, had refused to acknowledge their Lordship's Authority, which had been one principal Means of their own hasty Dissolution.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

January.

The Parliament
meet and ap-
point a Fast.

During the late Recess, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Mulgrave*, who had been summoned to the last Parliament, died; the other Peers, who had received Writs of Summons from *Oliver*, (the Lords *Eure* and *Fauconberg* only excepted) had paid no Regard to his Call, and now treated that of his Son with equal Neglect, as did also the Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Mr. *John Crew*, Mr. *Alexander Popham*, and Mr. *William Pierepoint*; Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, being elected for the Town of *Leicester*, continued to sit in the House of Commons, as he had done in the last Parliament. Some of the New Peers were at their respective Commands at home and abroad, so that not above 44 of the whole House ever made their Appearance at all, and most of those that attended were either the Protector's near Relations, or his immediate Dependents: And there are no Records left us of their Proceedings, except what the *Journals* of the Commons supply.

Their House of
Lords discon-
certed.

The first Thing we find entered in those Authorities, is a Commission from his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c. under the Broad Seal, and dated at *Westminster*, *January 26*, directed to the Rt. Hon. *John Thurloe*, Esq; Principal Secretary of State, and many other Persons, authorizing them to administer the Oath appointed by the Humble Additional Explanatory Petition and Advice to every Member, before they took their Seats. After all the Members that appeared were sworn, and seated in the House, Sir *Walter Erle* rose up, and

Inter-regnum.
1658.

January.

The Commons
chose Chaloner
Cbute, Esq; for
their Speaker.

put them in Mind that their first Work was to chuse a Speaker ; and that there was, amongst them, a worthy Gentleman of the Long Robe, whom he conceived was very fitly qualified for that Service. He therefore proposed *Chaloner Cbute*, Esq; who was fully approved of by a general Call to the Chair.

Mr. *Cbute*, standing up in his Place, excused himself by reason of Weakness of Body, and great Indisposition of Health, which rendered him unable to discharge the Duties incumbent upon the Office of Speaker ; but especially his Inexperience of the Orders and Proceedings of the House ; and this Parliament being an Assembly in which, in all Probability, so much would depend, he besought the Members to think of some other Person, more worthy, and of better Health and Ability, to supply that Place : But, being generally called on by the House, he was, by Sir *Walter Earl* and Mr. *Charles Rich*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, brought and placed in the Chair ; where being set, and the Mace brought in by the Serjeant and laid on the Table, the Speaker again represented to the House his Inability for that Office ; yet acknowledging, with great Thankfulness, the Regard shewn him by the House, he prayed, That as it was their Favour which called him, and their Command only that had brought him to that Place, if he should err therein, through Inadvertency or want of Experience, as he might be apt to do, the same Favour and Affection in them would pardon such Error. After this a Bill, left unfinished by the preceeding Parliament, was, according to Custom, read ; the Serjeant at Arms and the Clerks appointed ; and then the House adjourned to the next Day, but the Speaker was not presented to the Protector for his Approbation ; his Father, as before observed, having never assumed that Circumstance of Royalty.

Not presented to
the Protector, as
usual.

There is no Mention at all in the *Journals* of any Speech made to both Houses by the Protector at this Time ;

Time; but we are told, by a Member of this Parliament (c), that his Highness sent the Usher of the Black Rod to summon the Commons to attend him in the Other House, for he had somewhat to speak to them there: That, at this Call, not above 12 or 15 Members went out of the House, though there were some more that joined them on the Way, and appeared before him: And that he made, beyond Expectation, a very handsome Speech to them, exceeding that which followed by his Keeper of the Great Seal. Our *Collections* supply us with both these Speeches, which properly follow in this Place (d).

Inter-regnum.
1658.

Janu. 27.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Believe there are scarce any of you here, who expected, some Months since, to have seen this great Assembly, at this Time, in this Place, in Peace; considering the great and unexpected Change which it hath pleased the All-disposing Hand of God to make in the midst of us: I can assure you, that if Things had been according to our own Fears, and the Hopes of our Enemies, it had not been thus with us: And therefore it will become both you and me, in the first Place, (as to reverence and adore the great God, Possessor of Heaven and Earth, in whose Hands our Breath is, and whose are all our Ways, because of his Judgments) so to acknowledge him in his Goodness to these Lands, in that he hath not added Sorrow to Sorrow, and made the Period of his late Highness's Life, and that of the Nation's Peace, to have been in one Day.

The Protector's
Speech at opening the Session of
Parliament;

• Peace

(c) In a Pamphlet, called *A true and impartial Narrative of the most material Debates and Passages in the late Parliament, together with the Rise and Dissolution of it, published for the Satisfaction of those that desire to know how they spent their Time. By a Member of that Parliament, who is none of the present Parliament.*—London, printed for Thomas Brewster, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the Three Bibles in Paul's Church-Yard, 1659.

When this Piece first appeared in public, it had not the Name of the Author, but Mr. Baybell afterwards owned it, and reprinted it at the End of a Book, intitled, *The Interest of the Princes and States of Europe, &c. By Slingsby Bethell, Esq;* 8vo, London, 1694.

(d) From the original Edition, printed by Henry Hills and John Field, Printers to the Lord Protector. Published by his Highness's special Command.

The Parliamentary History

‘Peace was one of the Blessings of my Father’s Government; a Mercy after so long a Civil War, and in the midst of so great Division which that War bred, is not usually afforded, by God, unto a People in so great a Measure.

‘The Cause of God, and these Nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the Parts of it, as you well know, with many Enemies and great Opposition; the Archers, privily and openly, sorely grieved him, and shot at him, yet his Bow abode in Strength, and the Arms of his Hands were made strong by the Hands of the mighty God of *Jacob*.

‘As to himself; he died full of Days, spent in great and sore Travail; yet his Eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural Strength abated; as it was said of *Moses*, He was serviceable even to the last.

‘As to these Nations; he left them in great Honour abroad, and in full Peace at home: All *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* dwelling safely, every Man under his Vine, and under his Fig-Tree, from *Dan* even to *Beer-sheba*.

‘He is gone to Rest, and we are entered into his Labours; and if the Lord hath still a Blessing for these Lands, (as I trust he hath) as our Peace hath been lengthened out to this Day, so shall we go on to reap the Fruit, and gather the Harvest of what his late Highness hath sown, and laid the Foundation of.

‘For my own Part, being by the Providence of God and the Disposition of the Law, my Father’s Successor, and bearing that Place in the Government that I do, I thought it for the Public Good to call a Parliament of the Three Nations, now united, and conjoined together into one Commonwealth, under one Government.

‘It is agreeable not only to my Trust, but to my Principles, to govern these Nations by the Advice of my two Houses of Parliament: I find it asserted in the Humble Petition and Advice, (which is the Corner-stone of this Building, and that which I shall adhere to) *That Parliaments are the great Council of the*

the Chief Magistrate, in whose Advice both he and these Nations may be most safe and happy. I can assure you I have that Esteem of them ; and as I have made it the first Act of my Government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the Value I have of you, by the Answers that I shall return to the Advice that shall be given me by you, for the Good of these Nations.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

January.

‘ You are come up from your several Countries, as the Heads of your Tribes, and with Hearts (I persuade myself) to consult together for their Good : I can say I meet you with the same Desires, having nothing in my Design, but the Maintenance of the Peace, Laws, Liberties, both Civil and Christian, of these Nations ; which I shall always make the Measure and Rule of my Government, and be ready to spend my Life for.

‘ We have summoned you up at this Time to let you know the State of our Affairs, and to have your Advice in them : And I believe a Parliament was never summoned upon a more important Occasion.

‘ It is true, as I have told you, we are, thro’ the Goodness of God, at this Time in Peace ; but it is not thus with us because we have no Enemies : No, there are enough both within us and without us, who would soon put an End to our Peace, were it in their Power, or should it at any Time come into their Power.

‘ It will be becoming your Wisdom to consider of the securing of our Peace against those, who, we all know, are, and ever will be, our implacable Enemies ; what the Means of doing this are, I shall refer unto you.

‘ This I can assure you, That the Armies of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, are true and faithful to the Peace and good Interest of these Nations ; and it will be found so, and that they are a consistent Body, and useful for any good Ends ; and if they were not the best Army in the World, you would have heard of many Inconveniences, by reason of the great Arrear of Pay which is now due un-

to

Inter-regnum.
1958.

January.

to them, whereby some of them are reduced to great Necessities : But you shall have a particular Account of their Arrears, and I doubt not but Consideration will be had thereupon, in some speedy and effectual Way. And this being Matter of Money, I recommend it particularly to the House of Commons.

‘ You have, you know, a War with *Spain*, carried on by the Advice of Parliament ; he is an old Enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be necessary, both for the Honour and Safety of these Nations, that that War be vigorously prosecuted.

‘ Furthermore, the Constitution of Affairs in all our neighbour Countries, and round about us, (as well Friends as Enemies) is very considerable ; and calls upon us to be upon our Guard both at Land and Sea, and to be in a Posture able to maintain and conserve our own State and Interest.

‘ Great and powerful Fleets are preparing to be set forth into these Seas, and considerable Armies of several Nations and Kings are now disputing for the Mastery of the *Sound*, with the adjacent Islands and Countries ; among which is the Emperor of *Germany*, with other Popish States. I need not tell you of what Consequence these Things are to this State.

‘ We have already interposed in these Affairs, in such Manner as we found it necessary for the Interest of *England* ; and Matters are yet in such a Condition in those Parts, that the State may, with the Assistance of God, provide that their Differences may not prejudice us.

‘ The other Things that are to be said I shall refer to my Lord-Keeper *Fiennes* ; and close up what I have to say, with only adding two or three Particulars to what I have already said.

‘ And, *first*, I recommend to your Care the People of God in these Nations, with their Concernments : The more they are divided among themselves, the greater Prudence should be used to cement them.

‘ *Secondly*, The good and necessary Work of Reformation, both in Manners and in the Administration

tion of Justice, that Profaneness may be discountenanced and suppressed, and that Righteousness and Justice may be executed in the Land.

Inter-regnum.

1658.

January,

‘*Thirdly*, I recommend unto you the Protestant Cause abroad, which seems at this Time to be in some Danger, having great and powerful Enemies, and very few Friends; and I hope and believe that the old *English* Zeal to that Cause is still amongst us.

‘*Lastly*, My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, That you will, in all your Debates, maintain and conserve Love and Unity amongst yourselves, that therein you may be the Pattern of the Nation, who have sent you up in Peace, and with their Prayers, that the Spirit of Wisdom and Peace may be amongst you: And this shall also be my Prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmost Endeavours for the making this an happy Parliament.

The Lord Commissioner *Fiennes*’s Speech, on this Occasion, was expressed in these Terms (e):

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘THE Wise Man having proposed this Question, *What can the Man do that cometh after the King?* He answereth himself thus, *Even that which hath been already done.* And to the like Question at this Time, ‘What can he say that speaketh after his Highness?’ The like Answer may not be unfitly returned, ‘Even that which hath been already spoken.’ Let me therefore crave your Patience, while I eccho back again unto you the same Things, which even now you have heard from his Highness: Things, which cannot sound too often in your Ears, because they cannot sink too deep into your Hearts; nor be too much upon your Thoughts.

And that of Commissioner *Fiennes* on the same Occasion.

‘You see how the most Wise God, the Supreme Moderator and Governor of all Things, in the present Dispensation of his Providence, which we behold

(e) Published, by his Highness’s Command, for *Henry Twyford*, in *Vine-Court, Middle-Temple*.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

hold before our Eyes, doth, as it were, chequar out his Work unto us, and seemeth to pave his Way amongst us in Black and White. That which represents itself unto us, in a sad and black Colour, is the Death of his late Highness, of famous and of blessed Memory: That which appeareth unto us, with a fair and promising Aspect, is the Succession of his present Highness to the Government of these Nations, by the Appointment and Declaration of his Father, in pursuance of the Advice of Parliament; and this with the general and joyful Acceptation of the People, testified by so many most affectionate Addresses; and that from most, if not all, Counties, Cities, Boroughs, and other Societies of Men, of all Sorts, Professions, and Conditions: Whereby it doth most manifestly appear, That what God spake unto them in that Dispensation, at such Time as their Hearts were full of Doubt, Fear, and Trouble, upon his late Highness's Death, was a *Word fitly spoken, like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver*. And now, that his Highness hath called this Parliament of the Three Nations, he standeth at the Head of this Great and Most Honourable Assembly, the Representative of the Three Nations; and is held forth to the World as a Noble Piece, beset on the one Side, and on the other, with most rich and precious Stones, whereby much of Price, and much of Lustre, is added to it.

‘It is not my Business to praise the Dead, much less to flatter the Living; but the Things which I shall represent unto you, in relation to this Alteration, which, of late, the Providence of God hath wrought amongst us, shall be only such Considerations as have been remembered unto you by his Highness, and such as may minister fit Matter for your Thoughts to be exercised about, in order to the great Consultations for which, at this Time, you are called together.

‘His late Highness, you know, and the whole World knows, was a Man of War; yet he died in Peace, and left these Nations in Peace at home,
and

and Victorious abroad ; and they are still, God's Name be praised for it, in Peace, and in Peace they are brought to your Hands ; wherein his Highness and the Nations have placed great Confidence, and have great Hopes and Expectations that they shall be safe, and preserved in Peace : A Thing so well pleasing to God, who is the God of Peace, and so acceptable to these Nations, who have sufficiently testified their Love to Peace, and their Longing after Settlement. But that is not all ; his late Highness not only left these Three Nations in Peace, with, in, and betwixt themselves, but also in Unity : And as it was his and the late Parliament's worthy Work and Care to unite these Three Nations into one Commonwealth, that they might be no longer Thorns in the Eyes, and Goads in the Sides of each other, as sometimes they have been (and as *Wales* formerly was, and as other Provinces in our neighbour Nations were, unto them, till they found Means to incorporate them into one Body and Government) ; so his Highness held it incumbent upon him to bring them united to and in this Parliament, according to the Practice of the late Parliaments whilst they sat, and the express Declaration of their Intention, That all Parliaments, for the future, should be Parliaments of the Three Nations ; and that there should be some Members to serve in them from and for the Three Nations ; which Unity in the Supreme Legislative Power doth not only serve, at present, to prevent Mischief and Distraction, but may also, by the Blessing of God, for the future, procure a full and perfect Coalition ; whereby the Breaches and Sufferings of many former Ages will be avoided, their Desires and Endeavours attained, and the Fears of many succeeding Generations secured ; and so, at length, a strong treble Cord twisted together, which cannot be easily broken ; I say, which cannot be easily broken while it remains twisted together : But, if untwisted, it may not only be soon and easily broken itself ; but, afterward, each Part will serve and help to break the other.

‘ In

Inter-regnum.
1658.

January.

‘ In the next Place, that which I shall offer to your Thoughts, upon this Subject, is, That his late Highness had it much in his Heart to build the House of God, with the Courts thereof, and made great Preparations for it. By the House of God, I mean the Church of God; by the Courts thereof, the true and pure Worship of God, and Justice and Judgment amongst Men: This makes the outward, that the inward, Court of God’s House; and to all these his late Highness had made very considerable Preparations.

‘ As, first, *David*, that sweet Singer of *Israel*, was not more skillfull to beget Confort in Discord, and in tuning the several and different Strings of his Harp to a melodious Harmony, than his late Highness was dextrous and wonderfully successful in keeping Love between dissenting Brethren, and preserving a Christian Unity in a Christian and warrantable Variety; which Thing is a great Preparation towards the building of that Spiritual House, whereof we spoke.

‘ Another great Preparative was, the Care he constantly took, that godly and able Preachers and Ministers should be sent forth into all Parts; and before they were sent out, that they should pass the Test and Examination of prudent, learned, and pious Approvers.

‘ A third Preparative was, The Care he constantly took of the Universities and Schools of good Learning, that those Fountains might always be kept clear; and that from thence there might continually issue a pure River of Water of Life, as clear as Chrystal, proceeding from the Throne of God and of the Lamb.

‘ A fourth Preparative was, The putting of such Persons in Places of Trust and Power, who would be a Countenance to godly Men and Godliness, and discountenance Atheism and Profaneness.

‘ And, lastly, As to the outward Court of God’s House, the Administration of Judgment and Justice amongst Men, what were his Desires and Endeavours, and what his Care, from Time to Time, to fill

fill the Benches with able and learned Judges, we all know.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

January.

‘ All these Preparations, and many more, did his Highness make for this House; and all the Materials thereof are so fitted and squared before-hand, by the Humble Petition and Advice, and other good Laws made by the late Parliament, that, by the Help of God, there will be no Need of any new Hammering, nor that there shall be heard the Noise of any Hammer, or Axe, much less of Spear or Sword, or any Tool of Iron, for what is to be further done in the building of this House.

‘ Such, indeed, that look upon the Petition and Advice with a partial and prejudicate Eye; or, as it may be distorted on the one Side or the other in the Execution thereof, may think there hath not been a right Measure taken of many Things, or that there is great Need of running them over again: But whosoever shall well weigh the same, and look into it with a single Eye, will find, that both our Spiritual and Civil Liberties have been squared, stated, and defined therein, with a great deal of Care and Exactness; and that, according to the true Nature of a Definition, it is neither too narrow, nor too broad; neither too long, nor too short: That it hath not taken in any thing that should have been left out, nor left out any thing that is essential.

‘ I say this, as to the main, That no truly Godly Men need to fear Persecution, nor any wilful Sinners, of any Sort, either in Faith or Practice, hope for Impunity: That no Freemen need fear to be made Slaves, nor that any Men’s lawless Liberty, under Pretence of making all free, should, indeed, make all Men Slaves: But the Legislative and Executive Powers are so stated therein, in relation to one another, and to their own Parts within themselves, that neither may hinder, but each Part help, the other; and that none in either might have more or less Power than is necessary for the Good of the whole: And yet is there still behind a great and a glorious Work in the Location and Composure of

The Parliamentary History

these Parts, though never so well fitted. The Execution of the Law is the Life, the Completion, the Perfection thereof.

‘ The Application of Things to Persons, and of Persons to Things; and the right jointing and cementing of one Part to the other, by a Spirit of Love within, and Establishment of due and necessary Order without, will make this House to rise up into a strong, a perfect, and a beautiful Structure and Fabric amongst us; to which much of Care, and many Provisions, will be necessary. What then remains, but that his Highness, and both Houses of Parliament, should set about this noble Work, till they have brought it to Perfection. That as it is fresh in our Memories, and as you even now heard from that Reverend Person (*f*), who was the Mouth of God unto you, *Mercy and Truth may met together, and Peace and Righteousness kiss each other*; that Christian Liberty may be preserved, without Unchristian Licentiousness; that Ministry and Magistracy may be maintained and refined; and Learning and the Schools thereof so ordered, that they may continually supply the same, and not be, as Abbies and Monasteries sometimes were, either Nurseries of Vice and Idleness, or of Faction and Contention; that Godliness may be set on the Throne, and Profaneness thrown out on the Dunghill; that Law and Justice may be executed with Equity and Mercy; that neither Craft nor Cruelty may take Advantage of the Rigour of of the Law, or of the Hands of God, to turn Judgment into Wormwood, and Justice into Gall: That Judgment and Justice may run down with a clear and swift Stream; and if any Rubbish, Mud, or Weeds, through Length of Time, be got into the Channel, it may be cleared by such careful Hands, as, in scouring the Channel, will take Heed not to dig down the Banks, lest thereby an Inundation of Arbitrary Power and Jurisdiction shall be let in upon the Nations.

(*f*) Dr. Goodwin, who took these Words for his Text to his Sermon preached before the Parliament.

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‘ In the last Place; that which I shall offer to your Consideration, is, That, if this Government, when it first sprang up in the Hands of his late Highness, out of those dreadful Confusions which had covered the Face of these Three Nations, was readily embraced by them as a choice and hopeful Plant, tho’ as yet but a tender one, and such as had but newly taken to the Soil, with how much more Reason may we now expect, that it should be enabled to encounter the forest Storms and Tempests that may arise? Being supported partly by its own proper Firmness, through the Good-will and Liking of the People, out of the Experience they have had of the Benefit they have received from it, and the Peace and Tranquillity they have enjoyed under the Shadow thereof; and partly by the Accession of Parliamentary Authority, both past and to come, which it cannot but much expect and rely upon, from Time to Time, and at all Times, considering the great Obligations that their Wisdom and good Affection to the Welfare of these Nations, and the Law, by their Oaths, and otherwise, hath laid upon them in this Behalf: So that it being so well rooted downwards, and so well grown upwards, though possibly the Boughs and Branches thereof may be a little shaken sometimes, and moved one while this Way, and another while that Way; yet there will be no Danger of the Tree’s falling, by God’s Grace, unless we have so far provoked his Justice by our Ingratitude in general, and in particular for the Mercy we have and may still further enjoy, if it be not in our own Faults, under this Government, that he shall suffer a Spirit of Division to run through the principal Parts thereof, that they fall one from another; and so, at length, fall one upon another; and so, at last, fall down all together, and then be trodden Under-foot, and that on all Hands, and on every Side; and with them the Peace of these Nations which they enjoy at home, and the Honour and Renown which they have gain’d abroad, than which they had never more than at this Day, both far and near. But why speak I of the Honour

The Parliamentary History

of Men; when as the Honour of God, and the Safety and Prosperity of his Churches and People, both here and throughout all Christendom, doth so much depend upon the Peace and Consistency of these Nations at this Time, as in Truth they do, as much, if not more, than on all the Nations in the World besides.

‘ This is a great Word which I have said, but it is a true one; and if the present State and Posture of Affairs throughout the whole Christian World be well weighed and considered, it will be found that this is no swelling Vaunt, but a well-measured Truth: And, because it is so, no doubt the grand Enemy of our Peace, because he is the grand Enemy of God and his Church, will be very busy at this Time with all his Instruments, and will cast many Mists before our Eyes. He is a Spirit of Darkness, of Error, and Mistakes, that he may become a Spirit of Misunderstanding and Division; and he is a Spirit of Division, because he delights in War and Bloodshed, the natural Consequences thereof, for he was a Murderer from the Beginning: But we are not ignorant of his Arts and Wiles; and whatever fair and beautiful Shapes he appears in at the first, yet, if we examine him to the Bottom, from Top to Toe, we shall at length discover him by his divided and dividing Foot; and thence take Warning to avoid him.

‘ We have also a wholesome and divine Counsel to preserve us from falling into his Snare; that is, to hold the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace. What is that Bond of Peace? In a moral Sense, it is that treble Knot of true Love and good Understanding between his Highness and the two Houses of Parliament. In a politic Consideration, it is the Constitution of our Government, whereby we have another treble Cord, besides that of the Three Nations united into one Commonwealth, *viz.* The Constitution of their Supreme Legislative Power, consisting of a Single Person and Two Houses of Parliament; which Cord, while it is kept well twisted together, will be a great Strength to itself, to the Nations, and to the People of God in these and all our neigh-

neighbouring Nations round about us : But if once it begin to unravel, and the two Ends fall one from another, and from the Middle, all will run to Ruin : Therefore be very careful to hold fast the Bond, and beware of all such as shall be picking at the Knot, under what Colour and Pretence soever ; yea, though they promise never so much, and undertake to bind it up as fast, and in a better Fashion than it was before. This tying and untying of the Bond, and continual seeking after new-fashioned Knots, hath put these Nations to much Trouble, and into more Danger.

‘ It is good to hold what we have, till we are sure to meet with that which is better ; and, of all fashioned Knots, the Nations will be worst satisfied with a Bow-Knot, a sliding, a slip-Knot, which will be always fast and loose ; which every Touch, at either End, will dissolve, and leave the Nations always at Uncertainty, always in Unsettlement : But the Knot which takes in both Ends, the Top and the Bottom, and joins them fast together, and to the Middle, with a treble Knot ; and wherein each Part helps to fasten the other, and the drawing of either Ends draws all nearer and closer together ; this will make a fast Knot ; a Knot, by God’s Blessing, like to hold, and to continue. And, surely, were there no other Consideration but this, (give me Leave to repeat it, though I have said it once before) this alone were sufficient to make us keep close together, at this Time, because we cannot fall in Pieces as Things now stand abroad, but the whole Protestant Interest, throughout the whole World, is like to fall asunder also with us.

‘ For if we well consider how the Princes and States in *Germany*, both the *Upper* and the *Lower*, and in the Northern Parts of *Europe*, begin to state their Interest otherwise, and to take a different Measure of their Confederacies and Alliances than formerly they have done, we shall find upon the Matter, but one single Bar, that is considerable, to check the growing Power of the *Austrian* Family in those Parts ; whereunto it cannot long make Head with-

The Parliamentary HISTORY

out Support and Help from others ; and from whence only any that is considerable can be expected, is not hard to judge.

‘ I shall not need to mind you of that which more nearly concerneth you, for it so nearly concerns you that you cannot but be sensible of it: I mean the present Condition of Affairs, in relation to the *Sound* and *Baltic* Sea, and the great Forces, both by Sea and Land, that look that Way: And how far, and how soon, this may bring to the Stake all the Materials wherewith your Walls must be upheld, I say, your best Walls, and the best in the World, (though Wooden ones) I leave to your Consideration; and how critical this very Spring may prove to the saving or losing of your Stake. Only this I shall say, should your Wings be once clipp’d in that Kind, when you shall get up again to the Pitch where now you are, none but he only, who only (and that too in an extraordinary Way) can help you up again, he only can tell.

‘ On the other Side; for the other Branch of the House of *Austria*, which sometimes hath been, and may soon be again, the Terror and Jealousy of the whole World, you know what Balance it only hath, and upon what ticklish Terms it now stands; and what Friends he hath made, and what he further hopes to make, of old Enemies; and what Advantages he hath, and still further hopes to make of them; not only to your Prejudice, and the endangering of your Ruin, but of those themselves also, in the end, whose helping Hands, by Inticements of present Advantages, he endeavours to draw to his Assistance, in the pulling down of their own Outworks and best Supports. It is true he hath suffered some Breaches, and received some Wounds of late; but how soon by the help of that vast Treasure which he draws continually from the *Indies*, if he may bring it still quietly home, he may repair those Breaches, and heal up those Wounds again, who doth not see?

‘ Some Things are fitter for your Thoughts than your Ears; therefore this I shall only say in general,
That

That the Opportunities which you have had, and yet, in Part, have, to put your Interest, and that of your best Friends, in some Measure, in Safety, may soon be lost, if they be not already upon the Wing, and then it may never be in your Power to recover them again: Therefore his Highness maketh no Question, but that you will take these Things into your speedy and serious Consideration; and that you will think timely of the Means of Defence and Offence in order thereunto.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

January.

‘ The late Parliament, having engaged in this War, very honourably made some considerable Provisions to carry on the same; I say, considerable, with respect to our little World, out of which they were to be raised; though not proportionable to that great World, and those vast Territories and Dominions, whereof our Enemy is possessed, and whereupon they vaunt themselves that the Sun doth never set. But our Comfort also, on the other Side, is, *That he that is our Sun doth never set, and he that is our Shield will never fail us.*

‘ You will receive a particular Account from those under whose Survey and Care those Things are, of the State of the Public Revenue, and of the Forces both by Sea and Land; your inward and outward Walls, under God, and as good as any in the World: But as all Things which are good are also costly, so can it not be expected but that the Charge of them should be great.

‘ His Highness hath assured you, That the Army (I speak of the Forces both by Sea and Land in the Three Nations) is a good and faithful Army, and will be ready to engage in every good Thing and Action, whereof no Man either ought, or need, to make Question. His Highness hath further told you, That they are a patient Army; and, when you see the Account of their Arrears, that will be out of Question; and, without all Question, God hath used them as singular Instruments of his Honour, and of the Honour of these Nations: And as *England*, by God’s Mercy, is now enlightned in the Knowledge of Truth, it would well near venture a Starving
(though

Inter-regnum.
1658.

January.

(though, God be praised, that is not its Case) than it would starve such an Army in such a Cause; wherein the Honour of God, and of the Nation, shall be concern'd. This, I think, I may adventure to say, in general, That our Preparations are not greater than our Neighbours, tho' our Concern is every way as much, or more, than theirs; neither are our Debts greater than theirs, though we have had more Occasion of Expence, or full as much every way: And if our Income had answered the Foot of Account, which the last Parliament went upon in their intended Supplies, we had not increased much, if at all, the Debt of the Commonwealth; neither had we exceeded our Bounds, or not so much, by God's Blessing on our Designs, as we have enlarged its Bounds and Territories; and that also so advantageously, as not only the Danger of hostile Invasion and Trade-destroying Piracy is set at a further Distance from us, but also much Honour abroad, together with Safety and Advantage at home, has thereby accrued unto these Nations.

' Before I conclude, I must again reiterate that which runs so much in my Mind, because it lies so much upon my Heart; that upon the Issue of your Counsels, and the Peace and Consistency of these Nations at this Time, doth very much, if not wholly, depend the Life and Breath of all the Hopes, of all the Expectations, of the Churches of *Christ* throughout the World. Since then there is so great a Trust reposed in you, so great a Price put into your Hands, lay your Hands upon your Hearts, and lift your Hearts up to Heaven, where your Help, where our Hope lies.

' His Highness hath fully expressed his high Esteem of Parliament, and his Judgment of them, that they are the most adequate and commensurate Councils to Matters of so great and so high Importance; and he doth as firmly resolve, that they shall enjoy all those great Freedoms and Privileges which have been granted unto them, in order to those great Ends; and his Hope and Prayer to Almighty God, is, That they may be made use of by you to those
great

great and blessed Ends, that all the Three Nations, yea, that all the People of God, every where, may rise up, all together, and bless you; and that you may be blessed, and your Names be a Blessing to this and all succeeding Generations.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

February,

‘ This is all that I have in Charge from his Highness to say unto you; saving what particularly relates to the Members of the House of Commons, That they should repair to their House to chuse their Speaker.’

The next Day, *January 28*, began with appointing a Day for a solemn Humiliation and Seeking of God, for his special Assistance and Blessing upon the Endeavours of that House. Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Manton*, Dr. *Owen*, and Mr. *Calamy*, were ordered to assist in carrying on the Work of Prayer and Preaching.

Another Seeking of God appointed.

A large Committee for Privileges and Elections was appointed, with the usual Resolutions of the House for their Conduct. Except that, in all Cases where there are double Returns for one Place, no Person or Persons so returned shall sit in the House, until it be first determined concerning the said Return, or Election.

Jan. 31. On this Day there was a very strict Call of the House, and all Defaulters marked in a Book for that Purpose. Some Members, chose for two or more Places, made their Election for which they would serve; which is all that is entered for this Day.

A Call of the House.

February, 1. A Bill, intituled, *An Act of Recognition of his Highness's Right and Title to be Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*, was this Day read the first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time on the 7th.

This Bill, being thought of the utmost Consequence, met with great Opposition at this Time;
it

Inter-regnum.
1658.

February.

it will be necessary, therefore, before we proceed with the *Journals*, to inquire into the Historians of these Times, to find what they have left us about it; for upon passing, or rejecting, this Bill, turned all the Hinges of *Richard's* Government.

The last quoted Author, who was a most noted Republican, is extremely circumstantial and exact, as appears by Comparison with the *Commons Journals*, about the Debates of this Bill; and tells us, 'That on the 1st of *February*, a Bill was brought in by Mr. Secretary *Thurloe*, under Pretence only of acknowledging the pretended Protector, but under such Terms as had no less in them than the Admittance of the Chief Magistrate, and the Persons then sitting in the Other House, unto the full Power, Privileges, and Prerogative of the ancient Kings and ancient House of Lords, which the Court Party designed to have carried undiscovered, and so have left the Nation either to have fought the late Quarrel over again, or else to be content with a bad Change of Persons, where there was none of Things.

'The Bill was that Day, without much Difficulty, read the first Time; which encouraged those of the Long Robe, related to the Single Person, to press for the reading of it again the same Day; to the end that, it being the next Day read the third Time, as they designed it, it might have passed into an Act; but, in Opposition to that, some who were more careful of the Liberties of the People than those of the Long Robe ordinarily are, moved, that, according to Rule in Cases of such Weight, it might be referred to a Grand Committee of the whole House; and when that would not be granted, that the second Reading of it might at least be put off for some Days, and Liberty given to the Members to take Copies, that, considering of the Business, they might be the more fitting for the Debate; which was at length yielded unto, and the 7th of *February* appointed for the second Reading.'

Feb. 4. This being the Day of Humiliation, it was kept by both Houses. The Preachers had the
Thanks

Thanks of the House of Commons ordered them for their great Pains-taking in carrying on the Work of the Day, and were desired to print their Sermons. The Money collected for Charity, at this Fast, was ordered to be distributed among the Poor of the two Parishes of *Margaret's Westminster*, and *Martin's in the Fields*.

Inter-regnum.

1658.

February.

Some Elections being next adjusted, the House, according to Order, proceeded on the Act of Recognition; and, first, resolved, That the Serjeant at Arms do go with his Mace into *Westminster-Hall*, and summon all the Members to give their Attendance, forthwith, in the House: When the Bill, intituled, *An Act of Recognition of his Highness's Title to be Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*, be this Day read the second Time. Then it was ordered, That the Debate upon this Bill be adjourned till To-morrow Morning at Nine of the Clock; to be then proceeded in, and nothing else to intervene.

The Recognition
Bill debated.

The five succeeding Days were wholly taken up in debating this grand Point of Government, without coming to any Conclusion about it: And on *Monday* the 14th the Bill was not yet so far carried through, as to come to a Commitment. We shall, therefore, give the whole of this Day's Proceedings in the very Words of the *Journal*; and then consult the Historians and Memorialists of these Times, for a further and clearer Explanation of it.

Monday, February, 14, 1658.

PRAYERS.

' The House, according to the Order made on *Saturday*, took into Consideration a previous Vote, upon the Matter of the Debate of the House, before the Commitment of the Bill intituled, *An Act of Recognition*.

' The Question being propounded, That it be Part of this Bill, to recognize and declare his Highness

Inter-regnum.
1658.

February.

ness *RICHARD* Lord Protector, to be the undoubted Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: The Question was put, That the Word *recognize* should stand in the Question, which was carried in the Affirmative by 191 against 168. Then a Motion being made, That the Word *undoubted* should stand in the Question, it passed in the Negative without a Division. The Question then being propounded, That it be Part of this Bill to recognize and declare his Highness *Richard* Lord Protector, to be Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; it was agreed to without Opposition; and then it was farther resolved, That, before this Bill be committed, this House do declare such additional Clauses to be Part of the Bill, as may bound the Power of the Chief Magistrate, and fully secure the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties and Rights of the People; and that neither this, nor any other previous Vote, that is or shall be pass'd, in order to this Bill, shall be of Force, or binding to the People, until the whole Bill be pass'd.

This great Contest about Government lay between the Republican Party and the Court Party, as they were now called; who, like Men of the same Appellation of a later Date, were always ready to support such Measures as contributed to their own private Ends; and *Richard's* known Weakness gave them great Hopes of much Emolument under his Reign.

Mr. *Ludlow*, one of the most zealous Republicans that was now alive of the old Stamp, tells us, 'That he was elected a Member of this Assembly, or Parliament; but was very cautious of sitting in it, because he would not take the Oath prescribed at the Beginning of the Session. However, that he and some others, having got that Matter over-ruled in the House, they did sit, and were the principal Opponents to the Court Party in this Affair.'

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The same *Memorialist* goes on and acquaints us, ' That it was Mr. *Thurloe*, Secretary to the late and present Protector, and a Member of that Assembly, who presented the Bill, or Declaration, ready drawn; wherein was contained an Acknowledgment of the said *Richard Cromwell* to be Protector, and the Petition and Advice to be the Rule of Government for these Nations: That this Action was esteemed to be a great Injury to this Assembly by all impartial Men; but he had sufficient Strength in the House to carry him thro' whatsoever he thought fit to undertake, and therefore he was not only defended in what he had done, but was resolved that the Bill should be received and debated.' But hear what our Author further speaks in his own Words (a):

Inter-regnum.
1658.

February.

' Hereupon it was moved that the Instrument might be produced; wherein, according to the Petition and Advice, the Successor ought to be nominated, and the Great Seal affix'd; but they, having no such Thing to shew, over-ruled that Motion. Not being able to obtain this, and being extremely desirous to place the Militia in the Parliament, and to make void any Pretence to a Negative Voice in a Single Person, as well as to do some other Things for the People's Safety and Welfare, the Court Party refused to consent to any thing of that Nature for the present, craftily insinuating and making large Promises, that such Things, as were necessary, should be done hereafter at a more convenient Season. In the next Place it was desired, that since it appeared the present Power had no legal Foundation, and that it would be most safe for the Protector to derive his Authority from a right Source, the Words in the Declaration of recognizing him might be alter'd for agnizing him; that so his Right might appear to be founded upon the Consent of the People represented in this Assembly: But this Proposition, tho' inforced with many weighty Reasons, was rejected, as the former had been, tho' it was thought convenient to divide the House upon it.

(a) *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 624. et seq.

' Upon

Inter-regnum.
1658.

February.

‘ Upon this Success the Court, presuming to carry all before them, grew unmeasurably insolent, and all that could be done was only to lengthen out their Debates, and to hang on the Wheels of the Chariot, that they might not be able to drive so furiously. By this Means Time was gained to infuse good Principles into divers young Gentlemen, who before had never been in any public Assembly, in hopes that though, for the present, their previous Engagements should carry them against us, yet, upon mature Deliberation, they might discover where their true Interest lay. Neither were our Endeavours without Success; for having frequently held the House nine or ten Days in Debates before they could come to a Question, many Gentlemen who came to *Westminster*, prepossessed in Favour of the Court, confessed that the Reasons of the Commonwealth Party were so cogent, that they were not able to resist them. And because all Parties had confederated against us, we, in order to lessen their Numbers, impeached divers of them for having been of the King’s Party; by which Means we procured some of them to be expelled, and frightened away some others, who knew themselves to be in the same Condition. The Court, to requite us, brought Mr. *Marvin Touchet*, a Papist, and Brother to the Lord of *Caslehaven*, to accuse Mr. *Villars*, who had voted with us, of serving in the King’s Army; and though it appeared that he was forced so to do by those who had the Government of him, he being then but sixteen Years of Age, and that he came into the Parliament’s Quarters as soon as he had an Opportunity; yet all that could be said proving not sufficient to excuse him, he was likewise voted out from the House (b).’

Mr. *Whitlocks* is very short, now, in his Account of every Matter that occurs to the End of his *Memorials*. He had been complimented by *Richard*, in giving him the Custody of the Great Seal, along

(b) Along with Mr. *Villars* were expelled *Edmund Jones*, Esq; for the County of *Brecon*, and *John Glanville*, Serjeant at Law, for *St. Germans*. *Com. Journ.*

with *Lisle* and *Fiennes*; and the greatest Part of the Business lying upon him, as he tells us, allowed him small Leisure to attend to other Matters. His Remark on these Affairs being only this 'February, 8, The House of Commons debated the Bill of Recognition of his Highness to be Lord Protector, and some were very cross in that Business, which caused Doubts of the good Issue of this Parliament: But as the Narrative of this Parliament, before quoted, is more open and clear than can be expected from a Person concerned in every evil Machination and Change of Government since the Dissolution of Monarchy to this Time, we shall give this also in its own Words:

'Upon the 7th of *February*, being the Day appointed, the Bill for recognizing the Protector was read a second Time, and a great Debate ensued. The Petition and Advice was pleaded, by the Court Party, as the Foundation of his Title, but by those that stood for the Commonwealth it was denied to be a Law; and that not only from the Inconsistency, Lameness, and Insufficiency of it, but also from the corrupt Manner of its Procurement; that Assembly that made it being no Parliament, but a Faction, in that the Members were never suffered to meet, but so many of them kept out, even by him who called them, as he judged would hinder the Execution of his Will; besides, that at the Creation of that Monster, there were, of 460 chosen, but 104 in the House; whereof 51 were against it, and it was carried meerly by the Strength of *Scots* and *Irish* Members, who had no Right to sit, but were Usurpers in the making Laws for *England*. It was further shewn, that if *Cæsar Borgia*, Pope *Alexander VI*, and *Machiavel*, had all laid their Heads together, they could not have framed a Thing more destructive to the Liberties of the People, and for absolute Tyranny, giving away all that our Ancestors had fought for, ever since the Conquest, than the Petition and Advice; as the Negative Vote, the Power of dissolving Parliaments, the Purse of the People, and in that all the Security they had for their

Inter-régnum.
1658.

February.

their Rights and Liberties, for give the Single Person your Purse, and you give him the Militia; and if he have that, all Boundings of him by Laws signify no more than binding of a Lion with Paper Chains. But the Courtiers being resolved of nothing less than a *Turkish* Power, would suffer no Strength of Reason to prevail with them, to the making of the Petition and Advice unauthentic, but would by Force have it allowed for a good Law; which provoked the demanding the Purfuance of that Law to be proved, and that the *Pretender's* (c) Designation was according as it is there directed; but tho' this was pressed by divers Persons of great Abilities, never any Answer was given unto it; those of that Party knowing that, by the Strength of their Members, they could over-rule the Strength of Reason: It was, from such Silence in the Point of Designation, argued, that if Providence had prevented the Usurper from keeping to the Rules of the Petition and Advice, and that it was thereby fallen to the Ground, all Government was reverted to its Original, the People; and ought by them, assembled in Parliament, to be derived whenever it should be sought; which would readily have been done to the Gentleman in Possession, if he and his Party would, upon these Terms, have accepted of it.

' This Debate, no Man speaking twice to the Matter, held eight Days, in which Time superlative Excellency, and good Affections to the Public, appear in several Gentlemen; yet the best End they could bring this Debate unto, was to conclude with the two following Votes, as previous to the Commitment of the Bill:

Feb. 14. Resolv'd, as before, ' That it be Part of this Bill to recognize and declare his Highness *Richard* Lord Protector, to be Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.'

(c) This is the first Time that we have met with this Title for King *Charles II.* which proves it to be older than most may think.

' Re-

‘Resolved, ‘That, before this Bill be committed, this House do declare such additional Clauses to be Part of this Bill, as may bound the Power of the Chief Magistrate, and fully secure the Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and the Liberties and Rights of the People; and that neither this nor any other previous Vote that is, or shall be, passed, in order to this Bill, is, or shall be, of Force, or binding, unto the People, until the whole Bill be pass’d.’

‘This last previous Vote passed the House without one Negative more than the Secretary; but when the Courtiers knew the Sense of *Whitehall* upon it, from that Time forward they owned themselves such slavish Executioners of a Pretender’s Will and Lust, that they never appeared in the least for the making good one Word of it.

‘During this Debate, several Complaints were made, reflecting upon the Court’s Designs, as that the Affizes (without Precedent, upon no greater Occasion) were put off, to the common Wrong of the whole Nation; desiring, therefore, that, to the end that the People might receive no Prejudice by the Sitting of Parliament, nor have Cause to be out of Love with Parliaments, the Protector might be moved to command the carrying on of the Affizes; but the Courtiers being resolved not to lose so considerable a Part of their Strength as the Lawyers, they would have the whole Nation to suffer in the Want of Justice, rather than they would want one of their Members.

‘That *Whitehall* had wrote eighty Letters for the making Members of Parliament, most of which had their Effect: That Mr. *Howard*, a Papist, and Brother to the Earl of *Arundel*, boasted that, at the Instance of the Protector and Secretary, he had sent 24 Members to Parliament: That several Tables were kept at *Whitehall*, at the vast Charge of the Public, on purpose to corrupt and debauch Members by great Entertainments; all which was acknowledged to be against the Orders of the House, and particularly for any Members, not menial Servants, to go to *Whitehall* during the Sitting of the Parliament.’

Inter-regnum.

1658.

February.

To proceed with the *Journals*,

The House continued to debate the additional Clauses to the Recognition Bill for some Days more, without coming to a Commitment of it. In the Interim, this Day, *Feb. 17*, the House had all the public Accounts of the National Receipts and Debts laid before them from the several Officers, and ordered these Accounts and Papers to be audited by a Committee of twelve Members.

We have yet met with no Mention of the Other House, in the *Journals* of the Commons, till this Day, *Feb. 18*, when a Question was proposed in that House, That they should proceed to determine the Power of the Negative Voice, in the Chief Magistrate, in the passing of Laws, before the Constitution of the Parliament, as to two Houses, be first resolved on. On this Question the House divided, when the Numbers were found to be 86 Yeas, and 217 Noes; whereupon it was resolved, That the House do take into Consideration the Constitution of the Parliament as to two Houses, the first Business the next Morning, and nothing else to intervene.

Accordingly this Day, *Feb. 19*, the House went upon that Affair; and, after much Debate, they came to two Resolutions: 1. That it shall be Part of this Bill to declare the Parliament to consist of two Houses. 2. That the Bounds and Power of another House, in relation to the former Vote, shall be taken into Consideration, the first Business, on the 22d Instant.

Feb. 21. According to an Order of this House, Mr. Secretary *Thurlot* made a Narrative, and gave the House an Account of the State of the War, and of the Affairs of the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in relation to the *Baltic* Sea and to the Command of the *Sound*; and how far, and in what Manner, as well his late Highness the Lord Protector, deceased, and also his now Highness the Lord Protector,

lector, had severally interested themselves in their respective Differences by way of Mediation. He farther gave the House an Account of the Shipping and Forces of the States General of the *United Provinces*, now in the *Sound*; and what further Preparations, as is informed, they are now making: And that his now Highness, and his Council, had directed such Shipping and Forces to be prepared here, as, he apprehends, may be for the Security of this Commonwealth, in these Times of so great Action.

Inter-regnum.
1658.

February.

The next Day, *Feb. 22*, the House went into a Debate, according to Order, of the Bounds and Power of another House, and continued in it all that Day, without coming to any other Resolution, than to order the Debate to be adjourned to the 24th.

Feb. 23. A Petition having been presented to the House, two Days before, from *George Duke of Buckingham*, then Prisoner in *Windsor-Castle*, praying an Enlargement; and, this Day, the House being informed that, in pursuance of the Order of this House of *Monday* last, the Duke of *Buckingham* attended, to make his Engagement to this House; he was called in, and was brought to the Bar by the Serjeant at Arms, standing by him without the Bar; and by his Keeper, a Servant to the Governor of *Windsor-Castle*, coming with him into the House.

Mr. Speaker acquainted the Duke, That a Petition having been delivered from him to this House on *Monday* last, by a Person of Honour, one of the Members thereof, and nearly related to him; the House had taken into a due Consideration the Duke's Demerits, which had been very great to this Commonwealth; but had over balanced them with the high Merit of his Relations; and, of their Goodness, had ordered, That, upon his own Engagement upon his Honour, and of the Lord *Fairfax* in 20,000*l*. that he should not abate any the Enemies of this Commonwealth, either at home or abroad, he should have his Enlargement; which Engagement they now expected from him.

The Parliamentary History

The Duke, standing at the Bar, said, He accounted it his great Happiness to come before this Assembly; and that, in pursuance, and according to the Order of this House, he did now here engage himself to this House, upon his Honour, to demean himself peaceably and quietly, and not to join with, or abet, or have any Correspondence with, any the Enemies of this Commonwealth, either at home or abroad, for the future: And, further, gave the House his most humble Thanks for their high Favour towards him; and professed, he should be ready to lay down his Life and Fortune for their Service.

After the Duke's Engagement, made as before, he was commanded to withdraw; and withdrew accordingly.

Resolved, &c. That George Duke of Buckingham, upon this his Engagement upon his Honour, made to this House this Day at the Bar, be forthwith freed and discharged from the Imprisonment and Restraint he is now under.

The Debate on Secretary *Thurloe's* Report, on the State of foreign Affairs, was entered into, and this Resolution made upon it, 'That a very considerable Navy be forthwith provided and put to Sea, for the Safety of this Commonwealth, and the Preservation of the Trade and Commerce thereof.' The further Debate of this adjourned to the next Morning.

The next Day, *Feb. 24*, it was again entered into, but referred to the Afternoon of the same Day; when, after a Division of 177 against 119, Whether Candles or no Candles? the main Question was put, after another Division of 176 against 98, and carried, That it be referred to his Highness the Lord Protector to put the Vote of this House, concerning the preparing and putting to Sea a considerable Navy for the Safety of this Commonwealth, and the Preservation of the Trade and Commerce thereof, in Execution; saving the Interest of this House

House in the Militia, and in making Peace and Inter-regnum. 1
War. Ordered, also, 'That Mr. Secretary *Thurloe* 1658.
be desired to carry this Vote to his Highness.' March.

The two last Days of this Month were again employed in debating the Power and Bounds of the Other House, without coming to any Resolution, but to adjourn it to the Day following; and there being nothing else to be met with in the *Journals*; (except we mention that the House released two Prisoners, Mr. *Robert Overton* and Mr. *John Portman*, committed by the late Protector, one to the Island of *Jersey*, and the other to the *Tower*, and voted their Imprisonments illegal and unjust) we shall conclude the Affairs of this Month.

March. 1. The Business relating to the Other House was again entered into; and, after some Time spent therein, a Question was propounded, Whether it should be the Matter of Debate on the next Morning, that this House will transact with the Persons now sitting in the Other House, as an House of Parliament? the House divided, and it was carried in the Affirmative, by 177 against 113.

The House continued in this Debate every Day they sat, to the 8th Instant; when a further Question was proposed, by way of Addition to the other, viz. 'And that it is not hereby intended to exclude such Peers as have been faithful to the Parliament, from their Privilege of being duly summoned to be Members of that House;' another Division happen'd on this, and was carried, affirmatively, by 195 against 188; the greatest Number, and the nearest Division, we have yet met with in this Parliament.

Immediately after Prayers the next Day, *March 9*, Mr. Speaker, being in the Chair, and very much indisposed in his Health, acquainted the House, That he came to the Chair with a great Desire to serve the House; but their Sittings had been so extraordinary, and their Business such, and so requiring

The Parliamentary History

quiring it, that he was utterly disabled to serve them, as he would, for the present: That it was a great Grief of Mind to him to retard the Public Business, though but for one Half Hour, or more, as it had been this Morning: That he found himself grow weaker and weaker, and therefore humbly prayed he might be totally discharged; or otherwise that he might have so much Respite, at least, granted to him, as that, by the Blessing of God, he might recover some better Measure of Health, and be enabled to return again to their Service: Whereupon, by the Leave of the House, he left the Chair, and went home to his own House; and the Serjeant attended him, with the Mace, out of the House, to his Coach; and afterwards brought the Mace back, and placed it below, under the Table.

The Members of the House, sitting in their Places, considering of appointing another of their Members to take the Chair, and supply the Speaker's Place during his Absence, by reason of his Indisposition of Health; and Sir *Lislebone Long*, Knt. Recorder of *London*, being first named, by the general Consent of the House was called, and brought to the Chair by Sir *Walter St. John* and Mr. *Francis Gerard*; and being there placed, and set in the Chair, and the Mace placed on the Table by the Serjeant, as is usual, it was ordered, ' That, in respect of Mr. Speaker's present Indisposition of Body, and at his earnest Request, Sir *Lislebone Long* be desired to supply the Speaker's Place during his Absence, occasioned by his present Indisposition of Health, and no longer.

In the Interval of the other Debate, another Cause came on to be tried, concerning the Sitting of the Members, return'd for *Scotland*, in the House. It was begun on this Day, *March 10*, and continued to the 21st, without coming to any conclusive Resolution, or any Division, except one or two about Candles or no Candles; but, on the Day last mentioned, a Question was proposed, That the Members, return'd to serve for *Scotland*, should continue to sit as Members during

during the present Parliament; and the Question being put, That this Question be now put, the House divided, and it was carried in the Affirmative, 211 against 120; so, the main Question being put, the House divided again; but the Yeas, going forth, appeared so numerous, that the Noes gave it up, and the Scots were allowed to sit and vote during this present Parliament.

Inter-regnum
1658.
March.

The Scots Members voted to sit in the House,

But, while this Affair was debating in the House, two Things happened beside worth Notice; the first was, That their Speaker, Mr. *Chute*, continuing still so indisposed that he was unable to serve, the House sent a Deputation of (a) their Members to visit him; which, Mr. *Whitlocke* says, was a very great Honour to him. The Answer return'd was, That Mr. *Chute* was still so infirm, that he could not attend the Serving of the House; and Sir *Lisborne Long* (b), who was chosen to execute the Office for him, being actually dead, the House was obliged to go to another Election, when *Thomas Bampffield*, Esq; was unanimously agreed upon to succeed him; and *Chaloner Chute*, Esq; dying also soon after, the other continued Speaker to the End of this Parliament.

We have before slightly mentioned the Releasement of Mr. *Robert Overton* committed Prisoner to the Island of *Jersey* by Warrant from the late Lord Protector: But the House did not only vote his Discharge, but ordered him to be brought up from thence to their Bar, and the Deputy-Governor with him. Accordingly, on the 16th Instant, they both appeared before the House; when the Speaker asked him by what Authority he detained Major-General *Overton* his Prisoner? He answered, It was by Warrant from his late Highness. Being commanded to produce the Warrant, he did so, and it was delivered to the Speaker. Then the Major-General being asked if he had any thing to say concerning his Imprisonment, answered, 'That he did

(a) The Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Dr. *Bathurst*, and Mr. *Weaver*.

(b) Mr. *Whitlocke* calls this Man a very sober discreet Gentleman, and a good Lawyer.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

March.

acknowledge it to the great Mercy of God, that after four Years Imprisonment, he was now brought to this Bar: That, as he had been in a suffering Condition for four Years, so he desired to be passive still: And that, when any Charge shall be brought in against him, he hopes he shall give such Answer to it as shall satisfy, and clear him from any former Mistakes and Misapprehensions concerning him: That he hoped he had not done any thing contrary to what he had at first engaged and fought for: That he desires not to live or die, but by the distributive Justice of this House: And tho' he knows nothing by himself, and that he hopes he hath done nothing worthy of Death, or of Bonds, yet he will not justify himself; but most humbly leaves himself, his Cause, and his Condition, to, this House. And then, by the Command of the House, the Deputy-Governor and Major-General *Overton* withdrew; the House ordering him to be discharged without paying any Fees.

We chose to give this whole Affair, at Length, from the Authority of the *Journals*, to shew the arbitrary Proceedings of the late upstart Tyrant, over those that he but barely suspected to have any ill Design against him.

March 23. The House was now employed, for two or three Days, in hearing Reports from their Committee, and regulating Elections. The next Thing they went upon was to try the Merits of the *Irish*, in regard to the Right to sit in the House: But this was ended the very Day it was begun; for, after some Debate, the Question being called for, it was carried for their Sitting, 156 against 106.

This Day, *March 28*, the House resumed the Debate on the Question of transacting with the Persons now sitting in the Other House, and the Additions to that Question. This Debate lasted the whole Day, and two Divisions of the House were made before the main Question was put; one was, That, after the Word *Parliament*, these Words, *when*

when they shall be approved by this House, might be added; which was carried negatively, 183 to 146. Another Question was to alter the Word *approved* to *bounden*; but this went also in the Negative, without a Division. Then the House being informed that divers of the Members, who had attended the Debate on the main Question, were in the Speaker's Chamber, the Serjeant was commanded to call them down; and a Question was put, To adjourn the Debate for an Hour; which, on another Division, 169 against 89, was rejected. After this one more Question was put, which was, That, after the Word *Parliament* in the main Question, *during this present Parliament* should be added, it went in the Affirmative. Then the main Question being at last put, the House divided upon it; when it was carried for the Question, 198 to 125: So it was resolved, &c. 'That this House will transact with the Persons now sitting in the Other House, *as an House of Parliament*, during this present Parliament; and that it is not hereby intended to exclude such Peers, as have been faithful to the Parliament, from their Privilege of being duly summoned to be Members of that House.

Inter-regnum.
1659.
March.

The Bill for transacting Business with the Other House carried.

But before we dismiss this Affair, in which the true Republican Party were the greatest Sticklers against recognizing the Other House, we think it not amiss to give our Readers a Speech, said to be spoken on the same Occasion. We do not warrant the Authentickness of it, for we think it too bold for the Time; but that it is as old, is clear from all Appearances. We shall therefore give it a Place here, without any further Ceremony (c).

Mr. Speaker,

THIS Day's Debate is but too clear a Proof that we *Englishmen* are right Islanders, variable and mutable like the Air we live in: For, Sir, if that were not our Temper, we should not be now

A Speech against the present House of Lords.

(c) The Title of this Pamphlet, is, *A seasonable Speech, made by a worthy Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, concerning the Other House*, March 1659.

disputing,

The Parliamentary HISTORY

disputing, whether, after all those Hazards we have run, that Blood we have spilt, that Treasure we have exhausted, we should not now sit down just where we did begin; and, of our own Accords, submit ourselves to that Slavery, which we have not only ventured our Estates and Lives, but I wish I could not say, our Souls and Consciences, to throw off. What others, Sir, think of this Levity, I cannot tell; I mean those that steer their Consciences by Occasions, and cannot lose the Honour they never had: But, truly, Sir, for my own Part, I dare as little not declare it to be my Opinion, as others, more prudential, dare avow it to be theirs, that we are this Day making good all the Reproaches of our Enemies owning ourselves Oppressors, Murderers, Regicides, Subverters of that which now we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful Government; but, by recalling it, confess it now to be the best: Which, Sir, if it be true, and that we now begin to see aright, I heartily wish our Eyes had been sooner open; and for three Nations Sake, that we had purchased our Conviction at a cheaper Rate. We might, Sir, in 1642, have been what we thus contend to be in 1659; and our Consciences have had much less to answer for to God, and our Reputations to the World.

But, Mr. Speaker, I wish, with all my Soul, I did state our Case to you amiss; and that it were the Question only, Whether we would voluntarily relapse into the Disease we were formerly possessed with, and, of our own Accords, take up our old Yoke, that we, with Wearing and Custom, had made habitual and easy; and which, it may be, it was more our Wantonness than our Pressure, that made us throw off. But this, Sir, is not now the Question; that which we deliberate, is not, Whether we will say we do not care to be free, we like our old Masters, and will now be content to have our Ears bored at the Door-Posts of their House, and so serve them for ever: But, Sir, as if we were contending for Shame as well as Servitude, we are carrying

carrying our Ears to be bored at the Doors of another House; a House, Sir, without Name, and therefore it is but congruous it should consist of Members without Family; a House that inverts the Order of Slavery, and subjects it to our Servants; and yet, in Contradiction to Scripture, we do not only not think that Subjection intolerable, but are now pleading for it. In a Word, Sir, it is a House of so incongruous and odious a Composition and Mixture, that certainly the grand Architect would never have so framed it, had it not been his Design as well to shew the World the Contempt he had of us, as to demonstrate the Power he had over us.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

March.

‘ Sir, that it may appear that I intend not to be so prudent, as far as my Part is concerned, as to make a voluntary Resignation of my Liberty and Honour to this excellent Part of his late Highness’s Last Will and Testament, I shall crave, Sir, the Leave to declare, in a few Particulars, my Opinion of this Other House; wherein I cannot but promise myself to be favourably heard by some, but patiently heard by all: For those *Englishmen* that are against this House will certainly, with Content, hear the Reasons why others are so too; those Courtiers, that are for it, give me Evidence enough to think that there is nothing in Nature which they cannot willingly endure.

‘ First, Sir, As to the Author and Framers of this House of Peers: Let me put you in Mind, it was he, that, with reiterated Oaths, had often sworn to be true and faithful to the Government without it; and not only sworn so himself, but had been the chief Instrument both to draw and compel others to swear so too. So, Sir, that the Foundation of this noble Fabric was laid in Perjury, and was begun with the Violation and Contempt, as well of the Laws of God as of the Nation. He, Sir, that called Monarchy *Antichristian* in another, and, indeed, made it so in himself: He that voted a House of Lords dangerous and unnecessary, and too truly made it so in his Partisans: He that, with Fraud and Force, deprived you of your Liberty when he

was

Inter-regnum.

1659.

March.

was living, and entailed Slavery upon you at his Death; 'tis he, Sir, that hath left you these worthy Overseers, of that his Last Will and Testament; who, however they have behaved themselves in other Trusts, we may be confident they will endeavour faithfully to discharge themselves in this. In a Word, Sir, had this Other House no other Fault but its Institution and Author, I should think that original Sin enough for its Condemnation: For I am of their Opinion that think that, for the Good of Example, all Acts and Monuments of Tyrants are to be expunged and erased, that if possible, their Memory might be no longer liv'd than their Carcasses. And the Truth is, their good Laws are of the Number of their Snares, and but base Brokage for our Liberty.

But, Sir, to impute to this Other House no other Faults but its own, you may please, in the first Place, to consider of the Power which his Highness hath left it, according to that Humble Petition and Advice, which he was pleased to give Order to the Parliament to present unto him. For, Sir, as the *Romans* had Kings, so had his Highness Parliaments amongst his Instruments of Slavery: And I hope, Sir, it will be no Offence for me to pray that his Son may not have them so too. But, Sir, they have a Negative Voice, and all other Circumstances of that Arbitrary Power, which made the former House intolerable; only the Dignity and Quality of the Persons themselves is wanting, that our Slavery may be accompanied with Ignominy and Affront. And now, Mr. Speaker, have we not gloriously vindicated the Nation's Liberty? Have we not worthily employed our Blood and Treasure to abolish that Power that was set over us by the Law, to have the same imposed upon us without a Law? And after all that Sound and Noise we have made in the World, of the People's Legislative Power, and of the Supremacy and Omnipotency of their Representatives; we now see there is no more Power left them, but what is put in the Balance, and equally by the Power of a few Retainers of Tyranny,

Tyranny, who are so far from being of the People's Choice, that the most Part of them are only known to the Nation by the Villainies and Mischiefs they have committed in it.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

March.

‘ In the next Place, Sir, you may please to consider, that the Persons invested with this Power are all of them nominated and designed by the Lord Protector; for to say by him and his Council hath, in Effect, no more Distinction, than if one should say, by *Oliver* and *Cromwell*. By this Means the Protector himself, by his own and his Peers Negative, becomes, in Effect, two of the three Estates; and, by Consequence, is possessed of two Parts of the Legislative Power. I think this can be a Doubt to no Man, that will but take the Pains to read over that fair Catalogue of those Noble Lords: For certainly no Man that reads their Names, can possibly fancy for what other Virtues or good Qualities such a Composition should be made Choice of, but only the Certainty of their Compliance with whatsoever should be enjoined them by their Creator: Pardon, Sir, that Name, for 'tis properly applicable where Things are made of nothing. Now, Sir, if, in the former Government, Increase of Nobility was a Grievance, because the new Nobility, having fresh Obligation to the Crown, were the easier lead to Compliance with it: And if one of the main Reasons for Exclusion of the Bishops out of the House of Lords, was because that they, being of the King's making, were, in Effect, so many certain Votes for whatever the King had a Mind to carry in that House: How much more assured will that Inconvenience now be, when the Protector, that wants nothing of the King, but, in every Sense, the Title, shall not only make and nominate a Part, but, of himself, constitute the whole House? In a Word, Sir, if our Liberty was endangered by the former House, we may give it up for lost in the Other House. And 'tis, in all Respects, as advantageous and secure for the Liberty of the Nation, which we come hither to redeem, to allow this Power and Notion to his Highness's Officers, or Council,

The Parliamentary HISTORY

Council, nay, his very Chaplains, as to his other Creatures and Partisans in his Other House.

‘ Now, having considered, Sir, their Author, Power, and Constitution, give me Leave to make some few Observations, though but in general, of the Persons themselves that are designed to be our Lords and Masters, and let us see what either the extraordinary Quality or Qualifications are of these egregious Legislators, which may justify their Choice, and prevail with the People to admit them, at least, into equal Authority with the whole Representative Body of themselves. But what I shall speak, Sir, of their Quality, or any thing else concerning them, I would be thought to speak with Distinction, and to intend only of the Major Part; for I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, the Mixture of this Other House to be like the Compositions of Apothecaries, who are used to mix something of Relish, something grateful to the Taste, to qualify their bitter Drugs, which else, perchance, would be immediately spit out, and never swallowed. So, Sir, his Highness, of deplorable Memory to this Nation, to countenance as well the Want of Quality as Honesty in the rest, hath nominated some, against whom there lies no other Reproach, but only that Nomination; but not, Sir, out of any Respect to their Qualities, or Regard to their Virtues, but with regard to the No-quality, to the No-virtues of the rest: Which, truly, Mr. Speaker, if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express Name to his Other House, than he hath been pleased to do: For we know a House designed only for Beggars and Malefactors, is a House of Correction, and termed so by your Law.

‘ But, Mr. Speaker, setting those few Persons aside, who I hope think the Nomination a Disgrace, and the ever coming to sit there a much greater; can we, without Indignation, think on the rest? He that is first in their Roll, a condemned Coward; one that, out of Fear and Baseness, did once what he could to betray your Liberties, and does now the same for Gain. The second, a Person of as little
Sense

Sense as Honesty, preferred for no other Reason but his No-worth, his No-conscience; except that his cheating his Father of all he had was thought a Virtue by him, who, by sad Experience we find, hath done as much for his Mother, his Country. The third a Cavalier, a Presbyterian, an Independent; for a Republic, for a Protector, for every thing, for nothing, but only that one thing, Money. 'Twere endless to run through them all, to tell you, Sir, of their Lordships of seventeen Pound Land a Year of Inheritance; of their Farmer Lordships, Draymen Lordships, Cobler Lordships, without one Foot of Land, but what the Blood of *Englishmen* hath been the Price of. These, Sir, are to be our Rulers, these the Judges of our Lives and Fortunes; to these we are to stand bare, whilst their pageant Stage Lordships deign to give us a Conference upon their Breeches. Mr. Speaker, we have already had too much Experience, how unsupportable Servants are, when they become our Masters. All Kind of Slavery is Misery in the Account of all generous Minds; but that which comes accompanied with Scorn and Contempt, stirs every Man's Indignation, and is endured by none, whom Nature does not intend for Slaves, as well as Fortune.

' I say not this, Mr. Speaker, to revile any Man with his Meanness; for I never thought either the Malignity or Indulgence of Fortune, to be (with wise or just Men) the Grounds either of their ill or their good Opinion. Mr. Speaker, I blame not in these Men the Faults of their Fortune, any otherwise but as they make them their own: I object to you their Poverty, because it is accompanied with Ambition; I remind you of their Quality, because they themselves forget it. So that it is not the Men I am angry with, but with their Lordships; not with Mr. *Barkstead*, or Mr. *Goaler*, (Titles I could well allow him) but with, The Right Honourable, our singular good Lord and Goaler. 'Tis this Incongruity, Mr. Speaker, I am displeased with.

' So, Sir, that tho' we easily grant Poverty and Necessity to be no Faults, yet we must allow them

to

Inter-regnum.

1659.

March.

to be great Impediments in the Way of Honour, and such as nothing but extraordinary Virtue and Merit can well remove. The Scripture reckons it among *Jeroboam's* great Faults, that *he made Priests of the meanest of the People*: And sure it was none of the Virtues of our *Jeroboam* (who hath set up his Calves too, and would have our Tribes come up and worship them) that he observed the same Method in making of Lords.

One of the few Requests the *Portuguese* made to *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, when he got that Kingdom (as his late Highness did this) by an Army, was, That he would not make Nobility contemptible, by advancing such to that Degree, whose Quality or Virtue could be no way thought to deserve it. Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such Inconveniences ourselves: It was, in *Richard* the First's Time, one of the Bishop of *Ely's* Accusations, That Castles and Forts of Trust he did, *obscuris & ignotis Hominibus tradere*, put into the Hands of obscure and unknown Men. But we, Mr. Speaker, to such a Kind of Men are delivering up the Power of our Laws, and, in that, the Power of all.

In the 17th of *Edward IV.* there passed an Act of Parliament, for the degrading of *John Nevil*, Marquis *Montague*, and Duke of *Bedford*: The Reason express'd in the Act, Because he had not a Revenue sufficient for the maintaining of that Dignity. To which is added, That when Men of mean Birth are called to high Estate, and have no Livelihood to support it, it induceth Bribery, Extortions, and all Kinds of Injustices that are followed by Gain. And in the Parliament of 2 *Carol.* the Peers, in a Petition against *Scots* and *Irish* Titles, told the King, That 'tis a Novelty without President, that Men should possess Honours where they possess nothing else; and that they should have a Vote in Parliament, where they have not a Foot of Land. But if it had been added, Sir, Or have no Land but what is the Purchase of their Villainies, against how many of our new Peers had

had this been an important Objection? To conclude, Sir, it hath been a very just and reasonable Care, amongst all Nations, not to render that despised and contemptible to the People, which is designed for their Reverence and their Awe; which, Sir, bare and empty Title, without Quality or Virtue, never procured any Man, any more than the Image in the Fable made the Asis adored that carried it.

‘ After their Quality, give me Leave, Sir, to speak a Word or two of their Qualifications; which certainly ought, in Reason, to carry some Proportion with the Employments they design themselves. The House of Lords, Sir, are our Kings Hereditary great Councils; they are the highest Court of Judicature; they have their Part in judging and determining of the Reasons of making new Laws, and of abrogating old: From amongst them we take our great Officers of State; they are commonly our Generals at Land, and our Admirals at Sea. In Conclusion, Sir, they are both of the Essence and Constitution of our old Government; and have, besides, the greatest and noblest Share in the Administration. Now certainly, Sir, to judge according to the Dictates of Reason, one would imagine some small Faculties and Endowments to be necessary for the discharging of such a Calling; and those such as are not usually acquired in Shops and Warehouses, nor found by following the Plough. Now, what other Academies most of their Lordships have been bred in, but their Shops; what other Arts they have been versed in, but those which more require good Arms and good Shoulders than good Heads, I think, Mr. Speaker, we are yet to be informed. Sir, we commit not the Education of our Children to ignorant and illiterate Masters; nay, we trust not our very Horses to unskilful Grooms. I beseech you, Sir, let us think it belongs to us to have some Care into whose Hands we commit the Management of the Commonwealth; and if we cannot have Persons of Birth and Fortune to be our Rulers, to whose Quality we would willingly submit, I

Inter-regnum.
1659.

March.

befeech you, Sir, for our Credit and Safety's Sake, let us seek Men, at least, of Parts and Education, to whose Abilities we may have some Reason to give Way. If, Sir, a Patient dies under a Physician's Hand, the Law esteems that not a Felony, but a Misfortune in the Physician; but if one that is no Physician undertakes the Management of a Cure, and the Party miscarries, the Law makes the Empiric a Felon; and sure, in all Men's Opinion, the Patient a Fool. To conclude, Sir, for great Men to govern, it is ordinary; for able Men, it is natural; Knaves many Times come to it by Force and Necessity, and Fools sometimes by Chance; but universal Choice and Election of Fools and Knaves for Government, was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.

‘ But methinks, Mr. Speaker, I see, ready to rise after me, some Gentleman that shall tell you the great Services that their New Lordships have done the Commonwealth; that shall extol their Valour, their Godliness, their Fidelity to the Cause: The Scripture too, no doubt, as it is to all Purposes, shall be brought in to argue for them; and we shall hear the *Wisdom of the poor Man that saved the City*, of the *not many wise, not many mighty*: Attributes I can no way deny to be due to their Lordships. Mr. Speaker, I shall be as forward as any Man to declare their Services, and acknowledge them; tho’ I might tell you, that the same Honour is not purchased by the Blood of an Enemy, and of a Citizen; that for Victories in Civil Wars, till our Armies marched through the City, I have not read that the Conquerors have been so void of Shame as to triumph. *Cæsar*, not much more indulgent to his Country than our late Protector, did not so much as write public Letters of his Victory at *Pharsalia*, much less had Days of Thanksgiving to his Gods, and Anniversary Feasts for having been a prosperous Rebel, and given Justice and his Country, the worst.

‘ But, Sir, I leave this Argument, and, to be as good as my Word, come to put you in Mind of some

some of their Services, and the Obligation you owe them for the same. To speak nothing, Sir, of one of my Lords Commissioners Valour at *Bristol*, nor of another Noble Lord's brave Adventure at the Bear-Garden; I must tell you, Sir, that most of them have had the Courage to do Things, which, I may boldly say, few other Christians durst have so adventured their Souls to have attempted: They have not only subdued their Enemies, but their Masters that raised and maintained them; they have not only conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but rebellious *England* too; and there suppress'd a malignant Party of Magistrates and Laws. And that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed compleat Conquerors, (without the Help of Philosophy) they have even conquered themselves. All Shame they have subdued, as perfectly as all Justice; the Oaths they have taken, they have as easily digested as their old General could himself; public Covenants and Engagements they have trampled Under-foot: In Conclusion, so intire a Victory they have over themselves, that their Consciences are as much their Servants as, Mr. Speaker, we are. But, Sir, give me Leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shews the Confidence they have of themselves and us: After having many Times trampled on the Authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five Times dissolved them, they hope, for those good Services to the House of Commons, to be made by the House of Commons a House of Lords.

'I have been over long, Sir, for which I crave your Pardon; therefore in a Word I conclude. I beseech you let us think it our Duty to have a Care of two Things: *First*, That Villainies be not encouraged with the Rewards of Virtue: *Secondly*, That the Authority and Majesty of the Government of this Nation be not defiled, and exposed to Contempt, by committing so considerable a Part of it to Persons of as mean Quality as Parts.

'The *Thebans* did not admit Merchants into Government, till they had left their Traffic ten Years:

The Parliamentary HISTORY

Sure it would have been long before Coblers and Draymen would have been allowed. If, Sir, the Wisdom of this House shall find it necessary to begin where we left, and shall think we have been hitherto like the Prodigal, and that now when our Necessities persuade us *i. e.* that we are almost brought to herd it with Swine, now 'tis high Time to think of a Return: Let us, without more ado, without this motley Mixture, even take our Rulers as at the first, so that we can be but reasonably secured to avoid our Counsellors as at the Beginning.

' Give me Leave, Sir, to release your Patience with a short Story. *Livy* tells us, there was a State in *Italy* in an Aristocracy, where the Nobility stretch'd their Prerogative too high, and presumed a little too much on the People's Liberty and Patience; whereupon the Discontents were so general and so great, that they apparently tended to a Dissolution of Government, and the turning of all Things into Anarchy and Confusion. At the same Time, besides these Distempers at home, there was a potent Enemy ready to fall upon them from abroad, that had been an Over-match for them at their best Union; but now, in these Disorders, was like to find them a very ready and very easy Prey: A wise Man, Sir, in the City, that did not at all approve of the Insolency of the Nobility, and as little liked popular Tumults, berhought himself of this Stratagem to cozen his Country into Safety: Upon a Pretence of Counsel, he procured the Nobility to meet all together; which when they had done, he found a Way to lock all the Doors upon them, goes away himself, and takes the Keys with him: Then immediately he summons the People; tells them, that, by a Contrivance of his, he had taken all the Nobility in a Trap; that now was the Time for them to be revenged upon them for all their Insolencies; that therefore they should immediately go along with him and dispatch them. Sir, the Officers of our Army, after a Fast, could not be more ready for the Villainy, than this People were: And accordingly they made as much Haste to the Slaughter as their

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Lord Protector could desire them. But, Sir, this wise Man I told you of, was their Lord Protector indeed: As soon as he had brought the People where the Parliament was sitting, and when they but expected the Word to fall to the Butchery, and take their Heads, 'Gentlemen, says he, tho' I would not care how soon this Work of Reformation were over, yet, in this Ship of the Commonwealth, we must not throw the Steers-men over board, till we have provided others for the Helm: Let us consider before we take these Men away, in what other Hands we may more securely trust our Liberty, and the Management of the Commonwealth.' And so he advised them, before the putting down of the former, to bethink themselves of constituting an Other House. He begins and nominates one, a Man highly cried up in the popular Faction, a confiding Man, one of much Zeal, little Sense, and no Quality; you may suppose him, Sir, a zealous Cobler. The People, in Conclusion, murmured at this, and were loth their Fellow-Mutineer, for no other Virtue but Mutinying, should come to be advanced to be their Master; and, by their Looks, and Murmur, sufficiently expressed the Distaste they took at such a Motion. Then he nominates another, as mean a Mechanic as the former; you may imagine him, Sir, a bustling rude Drayman, or the like: He was no sooner named, but some burst out a-laughing, others grew angry and railed at him, and all detested and scorn'd him. Upon this a third was named for a Lordship, one of the same Batch, and every way fit to sit with the other two. The People then fell into a confused Laugh and Noise, and inquired, If such were Lords, who, by all the Gods, would be content to be the Commons?

'Sir, Let me be bold, by the good Leave of the Other House and yours, to ask the same Question: But, Sir, to conclude this Story, and with it I hope the Other House; when this wise Man I told you of perceived they were now sensible of the Inconvenience and Mischief they were running into, and saw that the pulling down their Rulers would prove, in

Inter-regnum.
1659.

March.

the End, but the setting up their Servants; he thought them then prepared to hear Reason, and told them, ' You see, saith he, that, as bad as this Government is, we cannot, for any thing I see, agree upon a better: What then, if after this Fright we have put our Nobility in, and the Demonstration we have given them of our Power, we try them once more, whether they will mend, and, for the future, behave themselves with more Moderation?' The People, Mr. Speaker, were so wise as to comply with that wise Proposition, and to think it easier to mend their old Rulers, than to make new: And I wish, Mr. Speaker, we may be so wise as to think so too,

Having sifted the *Journals* to *March* 28, 1659, for all they mention material to our Design, we shall look back a little, and endeavour to explain them further from the Histories of the Times.

Mr. *Ludlow* acquaints us, ' That the next Thing that they, of the Republican Party, endeavoured to do, after being worsted in the Affair of Recognition, was to get rid of the *Scots* and *Irish* Members, who had introduced themselves into the House. These Men, no doubt, were Time-Servers, and never proposed to come out of their own to serve this Country for nothing; so, consequently, were due Voters and Pensioners to the Court.' Our Author says, ' The way they proposed to have them removed, was to put the Question, first, Whether those Members chosen by *Scotland* ought, by the Law of the Land, to sit as Members of this Parliament? The Reasons used to justify the Wording of the Question in this Manner, were, 1. That there was no Colour, by the antient Law of the Land, for their sitting as Members of the Parliament of *England*, having always been a distinct Kingdom from it. 2. That there had been no Distribution of Powers to elect, as was required by the Humble Petition and Advice. The Court would by no Means permit the Question to be put in the Manner before-mentioned; but moved that it might be thus proposed in the following

ing Words: Whether the House thought fit that those returned for *Scotland* should sit as Members of this Parliament: By this Means turning a Question of Right into a Question of Conveniency. However, because our Question was first proposed, we insisted that it might also be first put; and likewise moved, that those sent from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, being the Persons concerned in the Question, might be ordered to withdraw, and not be permitted to sit Judges of their own Case: And this we thought we might with more Reason demand, because their own Party had already waved the Legality of their Election, by the Form of Words they had used in the Question they proposed: But the pretended Members for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, except only Mr. *Swinton*, who modestly withdrew, as they had debated their own Case with much Confidence; so, by the Support of the Court, they resolved to decide it in their own Favour.

‘ When we saw ourselves thus overpowered by Violence and Number, we had the Question put for leaving out the Words, *by the Law of the Land*; which being carried in the Affirmative, and therefore to be entered in the *Journal*, we let fall Words in the House to insinuate that they were not a legal Parliament, having no Countenance from the Authority by which they acted: And as to their prudential Way of admitting the *Scots* and *Irish* on the Account of Conveniency, we said it would weaken all that should be done by this Assembly, whose Actions would be weighed and duly considered by those that should come into Power when they were gone: That the Laws of this Assembly, though it were granted that they were a legal Parliament, would not bind the People of *Scotland*, who are not governed by the common Law of *England*; and therefore that it was unreasonable that those chosen by that Nation should have any Part in making Laws for the People of *England*; and that it was intolerable that they, who had fought against a Commonwealth, should be consulted with in the framing of our Constitution, and so vote us out of

Inter-regnum.

1659.

March.

that with their Tongues, which they could never fight us out of with their Swords. But all our Arguments were answered by calling for the Question, which they carried by a great Number of Votes, as they did also that for admitting those returned for *Ireland*.

‘ The Court having overcome these Difficulties, doubted not to obtain the Establishment of their House of Lords, which they called the *Other House*, and therefore moved for recognizing them also. The Commonwealth’s Men proposed that the Assembly would first take into their Consideration the Powers wherewith the Other House should be vested, before they proceeded to the Recognition of them, lest our qualifying them with the Title of an House, and our Approbation of the Persons that were to fill it, might be a Means to procure them more Power than otherwise we should think fit to give them: But the Court Party alledged, That the Other House being already constituted, it was no more in the Power of the Commons to alter their Establishment, than in the Power of the New House to make any Change in that of the Commons. Then we endeavour to shew them the Unreasonableness of imposing such a House upon the Nation, telling them, that, in antient Times, those that came to Parliament sat there by virtue of the Lands they possessed; and that he who had twenty Fees, each of twenty Pounds yearly Rent, might demand his Place in the House as an Earl; and that whosoever was possessed of thirteen Fees, whereof one third Part was Military, had a Right to sit in the same House as a Baron: That this Method continued till the greater Barons, finding themselves over-voted, withdrew into a distinct House. But King *Henry III.* having got a Victory against the Barons, deprived them of their antient Usages, and permitted none of them to come to Parliament without a Writ of Summons from him. We shewed them that the House of Lords antiently consisted of Persons on whom the Commons had their Dependence; and being, for the most Part, Retainers to them, were clothed in their Liveries: But the Balance being
now

now altered, and the greatest Part of the Lands of *England* devolved upon the Commons, they, instead of wearing the Lords blue Coats, did now give Wages to most of those who pretended to be Members of the Other House. But, notwithstanding all that could be said, the Confederacy for them was strong enough to carry all before them, the Cavalierish Party, who were very numerous, joining with them, in Expectation that it might prove a good Step towards the Return of the former Peerage: So the Question was put, Whether this House should transact with the Other House, and carried in the Affirmative.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

March.

The Author of the Narrative of this Parliament is yet more explicit than *Ludlow*, in all the Affairs which we have already mentioned from the *Journals*: We shall therefore copy him throughout; observing, That both these last quoted Writers are no farther to be trusted, than as they tally with those undoubted Authorities, the *Journals*.

The Narrative begins with telling us, ' That afterwards the Secretary gave an Account of foreign Affairs, as is already mentioned, on the 21st of *February*, acquainting the House, that a Million of Money was needful for defraying the Naval Expences for this Summer; which brought on the Debate concerning the Navy, in behalf of the Public: That as the Navy is Part of the Militia, and the Militia the Right of the People assembled in Parliament; and that, without the Militia, the Parliament could not make good their Promises to the People, in bounding the Power of the Chief Magistrate, and securing their Rights and Liberties, that the House would appoint certain Commissioners for Management of the Naval Forces. The Debate for setting out a very considerable Fleet to Sea, for Defence of the Commonwealth and Commerce held not long, the Thing being readily and unanimously agreed on: But who should manage the Fleet, was a Debate of several Days; and at last carried with a strong Hand by the Court Party, against all Reason and Policy, that the Protector should have the Disposal

of

Inter-regnum.

1659.

March.

of it; only the Commonwealth's-Men got into the Vote, That the making Peace and War should be reserved unto the Parliament.

' The House was called upon to make good their Vote of bounding the Power of the Chief Magistrate, and securing the Rights, Privileges, and Liberties of the Parliament and People; and that, as they had filled the Hearts of all Men with Joy, in Expectation of having their Rights ascertained, they would not render themselves Jugglers, in promising what they never intended to perform; but to take the several Parts of the previous Vote into Consideration; and as bounding the Chief Magistrate is first in Order, so to begin with it. Yet such was the Disingenuity of the Court Party, being made up of Household Servants, Officers of Profit, Suiters for Offices, Lawyers, (the corrupt Part of whose Trade cannot be maintain'd but by a corrupt Government) *Scots* and *Irish* Members, chosen by the Pretender's Interest, that no Arguments of Honour or Honesty could engage them to be faithful to their Country; such as were most open confessing plainly, that they were so far from bounding the Chief Magistrate, that they desired to give him as much, nay more Power than any King or Prince of *England* ever had, seeming to cast Dirt upon the famous Long Parliament, (whose Successes and great Achievements will, by Posterity, be had in Admiration) for asserting the Rights of the People against the King's own Person, not sticking to charge them with Murder for that War; and that without Reproof, but rather Countenance from them. But others, more prudent, waved bounding of the Chief Magistrate, under Pretence of first settling the Constitution of the Government; and so falling upon the Debate of that, after some Days spent in it, at last voted, That it should be Part of the Bill for Recognition, to declare the Parliament to consist of two Houses. After this the House was again put in Mind of their Duties to the People, and urged to fall upon bounding the Power of the Chief Magistrate; which, as it was first in Order, ought to have been first

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in Debate. But the Courtiers commanding all by Strength of their Members, waved the Chief Magistrate, and fell upon constituting the Other House, in which some Days were spent in Disputes betwixt the new and old Royalists, the Commonwealth's-Men remaining silent, to see what the Strength of the other's Brains would produce. The first was for the new Creation of Lords, with the Mixture of the old, upon such Limitations as they might not overtop the new: The other for the old, with a Mixture of the new, and for the full Privileges of the antient Houses of Peers: But after it appeared that they could make nothing of the Debate, not daring to trust one another, the Commonwealth's-Men fell in, and shewed that, where the Cause is taken away, the Effect must cease: That as the House of Lords had antiently a natural Right to a superior Jurisdiction, in that their Property was five Parts of six of the whole Nation; so is it now more natural for the Commons to have that Superiority, their Proportion of Property being ninety-nine Parts, or more, of a hundred: And therefore moved, That, if they would have another House, it might be so bounded as might suit with the People's Interest; Whereupon they proceeded to the Debate of the Bounds and Powers of the Members sitting in the Other House of Parliament, in which some Days were spent, they being but for Life; for that it is against the Common Law for any one to be a Judge for him and his Heirs for ever. Then for their being first allowed and approved of by the Parliament: Then upon their having Negatives only in some Matters: Yet ended none; but, at last, disingenuously laid all aside; and, instead of bounding and approving them, a bare Question was brought on Foot, Whether the Members sitting in the Other House, as then constituted, should be transacted with or no; thereby to let them at once into the full Privileges of the antient Lords: And, to make it pass the smoother, a plausible Clause, to save the Rights of the antient Peers, was added by the Courtiers, which was done only to gain the Cavaliers

Inter-regnum.
1659.

March.

liers in that Vote, and not with any Intent to let in the Lords; they confessing, occasionally, that the Rights of the antient Peers could be nothing, so long as the Act for taking of them away was in being, and unrepealed. Against acting with the Members sitting in the Other House, as then constituted, was alledged the Inconsistency of it with the Rights and Liberties of the People, which they had sworn to maintain: As, *first*, in that they were most Dependents upon the Single Person, by way of Salaries, and so likely to be his Mercenaries. *Secondly*, For that the Militia, both by Sea and Land, was in the Hands of the Persons then sitting in that House. *Thirdly*, That all the Chief Judges were Members; as, the three Keepers of the Seal, two Chief Justices, Master of the Rolls; and that it might be well thought that the Lord Chief Baron would be accounted as worthy to be one as the rest: And then the People, in all Cases of Appeals, could do no more than appeal from the Judges in *Westminster-Hall* to the same Persons sitting in Parliament: And that the chief Judicature being in that House, and having the Militia to maintain it, that House might wrong the Commons as they pleased, and they remain without Remedy. *Fourthly*, That all the Privy Council, the Chief Judges, and General Officers, both by Sea and Land, being Members, the Lawyers and Officers of Profit (of whom the Body of the House of Commons would be made up) would be the Creatures and Mercenaries of one or other of them of the Other House, and so make the House of Commons to be nothing but the Executioners of their Lords and Masters Wills. But, notwithstanding these and many more excellent Arguments, incomparably pressed by Persons of great Virtue and Abilities, the servile and mercenary Court Party would not be prevailed with to bound and approve the Members sitting in the Other House, before they put it to the Vote for transacting with them; which made the Commonwealth's Men immediately, as the Question was coming on, to except against the Constitution of the House,

House, as having sixty Persons in it sent from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, who had no Right nor Title to sit; which they did, as being afraid to venture the Question for the transacting with the Other House, without first bounding and approving therewith. With this new-started Exception, which held afterwards fourteen Days Debate, the House rose.'

Inter-regnum.
1659.

March.

The Debate concerning the *Scots* and *Irish* Members came on, and run several Ways. This Narrative Writer gives it in this Manner: 'The Courtiers, after they found the Want of Law, flew to Prudence; arguing, that, for obliging the *Scots* and *Irish* Nations, their Members ought to be admitted: To which was answered, That nothing could be more provoking to those two Nations, than fraudulently to give them the Name of having Members in Parliament; when, in Truth, by the late Elections, they had few or none, most of them being chosen at *Whitehall*, whereof some had hardly been ever nearer *Scotland* than *Gray's-Inn*. But, besides this Answer to the Courtiers Arguments of Prudence, the Commonwealth's-Men argued against their sitting, as having no legal Right or Title to sit, and that, without keeping to legal Rules, Foundations could not be maintained; for, otherwise, they that sent 60 now might send 300 next Time, and so make Parliaments of what Number and Temper they pleased; and therefore desired that the Members of both Nations might withdraw, and be afterwards brought in upon legal and equal Feet. But *Whitehall* being resolved not to part with any of their Strength, (tho', after they had done their Work, they intended to have cast them off) would have nothing to do with Law or Right: And therefore, whereas the Question should have been, Whether the *Scots* and *Irish* Members had any legal Right to sit, the Words *legal Right* were thrown out, and the bare Question put, Whether the *Scots* and *Irish* Members should sit? And, by the Help of the *Scots* and *Irish* who were suffered, contrary to the Law of Nations, to vote in their own Case, it was carried, That they would sit it Parliament.

In

318.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

In which Vote the Parliament may be said to have betrayed their Trust, in taking in Strangers, without Law, to make Laws for the *English* Nation; and in not punishing the Keepers of the Seal, who presumptuously took upon them, without and against Law, to send 60 Strangers as Members to Parliament.

‘ After this the main Question, for transacting with the Other House, before bounded or approved, which had been interrupted by the Debate about the *Scots* and *Irish* Members, came on again. It was endeavoured to get the Words *bounding* and *approving* the Members into the Question; but they were thrown out by a Vote, and the bare Question put, Whether they should be transacted with or no, as then constituted; only the Commonwealth’s-Men got the Words *during this present Parliament* into the Question: And then, by the Help of the *Scots* and *Irish* Votes, by whose Number all Questions were carried in Favour of the Court, it was resolved to transact with the Persons then sitting in the Other House of Parliament, during this present Parliament.’

Thus having cleared up these Matters, as well as the *Journals* and the Historians of these Times will allow, we shall go on with the former; which tells us, That on this Day, *March 31*, was read, a second Time, *A Bill for taking away all Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, concerning the Excise and new Imposi, after Years, and concerning Customs, Tonnage, and Poundage, after Months, after the Death of his Highness the new Lord Protector.*

This Bill was debated in the House for some Days, without any Commitments; in the mean Time a Declaration for a public Fast was ordered to be drawn, by a Committee appointed for that Purpose; and this Day, *April 2*, it was brought and read in the House, Paragraph by Paragraph; which, with some Additions and Alterations, was consented to.

The Narrative before quoted tells us, ' That this Fast thro' the Three Nations was voted, and a Declaration for the same, from the Commons and the Protector only, was ordered to be brought in: But the Court Party, to the end to engage the transacting with the Other House, brought in the Declaration, in the Form of a Bill, to be made an Act; which caused the Expense of some Days, in debating in what Manner and Form to send it to the Other House, for that the first Transaction would be the Rule for the future: It was, in order thereunto, voted, That the Commons would not shew the Other House any other Respect than they should shew to them. Secondly, That they would send Members of their own to the Other House, and that they would receive no Messages from them but by Members of their own Number. This was all the Votes of public Concernment that was carried in the whole Time of the Parliament, which was either honourable or advantageous for the Commons; and yet the Courtiers, after they had consulted with *Whitehall*, were resolved to have unvoted and made it null and void. It was under Debate what Ceremony the Messenger should use at his Approach into their House, and what Title to give them; *Mr. Speaker, My Lord Commissioner, and My Lords and Gentlemen*, were all severally spoken of, but none agreed on; and the Courtiers Haste being such as they could not stay, the Messenger that carried the Act for the Fast down to the Other House, was advised to give them no Title at all; which Directions he followed, and so left the Bill with them, which was never return'd. During this Debate, some Exceptions being taken at Mr. Speaker's Carriage, as unequal, he was accused of having had Conference at *Whitehall* with the Pretender; which was contrary to the Orders of the House: This Charge put the House into a great Heat, some taking Part with him, and some against him; and as the Courtiers were not only most in Number but best at brawling, so they made the greatest Noise, untill they observed Matter

of

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

of Truth in the Thing; and then, as the Party charging was satisfied with giving the Reproof, so the Courtiers were willing to have it die.

‘ Some Deficiency was observed by the Court in the Acts for forcing the Payment of the Excise, and therefore a Bill was brought in by one of that Party, under a specious Pretence of settling it but for a certain Number of Years, as the Parliament should agree on, whereas it was settled for ever. This Bill, after long Debate, was, by Means of Commonwealth’s-Men, laid aside, and a Declaration brought in by them to enjoin the Payment of the Excise during the Sitting of the Parliament; owning clearly their Design to be, That, if the Laws were not good, the ascertaining the Excise no longer than during the Parliament, would put a Necessity upon the Chief Magistrate to let the Parliament sit untill they had done some Good for the poor People of *England*; and, if they were good, the Declaration did not prejudice them: But as the Commonwealth’s-Men laid aside the Courtiers Bill, so they laid aside this the Commonwealth’s-Men’s Declaration.’

After the Declaration for a Fast was finished and agreed to, much Debate, we find, was had, what Title to put to it. A Question was proposed, that the Title of this Declaration be, *A Declaration of the Lord Protector and both Houses of Parliament for a Day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation, to be observed in all Places within the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, upon the eighteenth Day of May, 1659.* Another Question was put, Whether these Words, *Both Houses of*, should stand in the Title after the Word, *and*, and before the Word *Parliament*? The House divided; when the Yeas were found to be 135, and the Noes 96. But when this Title was engrossed on the Back of the Declaration, and was read a third Time, *April 5*, two Proviso’s, by way of Salvo’s, were offered to be added to it. The one was, ‘ Provided always, and this House doth declare, That it is not in-

intended by this Declaration, that the House of Commons shall be hereby precluded or debarred to add, hereafter, such Bounds and Limitations either to the Single Person, or the Other House, as may be requisite for the Public Safety and Welfare of these Nations.' The other Proviso was, ' Provided always, and it is hereby declared, That the passing of this present Declaration shall not be intended, nor construed, to exclude the House of Commons, in Parliament assembled, to set such Bounds to the Powers and Authorities of the Chief Magistrate, as shall consist with the just Rights and Liberties of the People, according to the former Vote of this House.'

Inter-regnum.
1659.

April

These two Proviso's, we are told by the *Journals*, were only read by the Gentlemen that tendered them, standing up in their Places, and were afterwards brought up to the Table and delivered: For when the Question was put, That the first should be read there, it was carried in the Negative, on a Division, 123 against 73. The other Proviso was not suffer'd so much as to be put to the Question for reading it; but, instead thereof, the main Question was called for, put, and carried by a Majority of 94 against 34, ' That this House doth agree to the Declaration; and that the Concurrence of the Other House be desired to it.' The whole, then, of this extraordinary Work of Piety runs thus:

A DECLARATION of the LORD PROTECTOR and both Houses of Parliament, for a Day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation, to be observed in all Places within the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, upon the 18th Day of May, 1659.

' **WE** look upon it as a Duty incumbent upon us, who are set upon the Watch-Tower, to declare what we see; and seriously weighing the Condition of these Three Nations, by God's Ways towards us, and our Ways towards him, and the present Posture of Affairs among us, we cannot but have sad Thoughts and Apprehensions of

A Declaration
for a publick
Fast.

Inter regnum.

1659.

April.

‘ the Tokens of God’s just Displeasure against us.
 ‘ As for the Ways of the Lord wherein he hath
 ‘ walked towards us, they have been Ways of Mul-
 ‘ titudes of Mercies in Vicissitudes of Dangers: For,
 ‘ in the saddest Dispensations of his Providence to-
 ‘ wards us, he hath, in the midst of Judgment, re-
 ‘ membered Mercy; and hath seemed to say as of
 ‘ old to *Ephraim* and *Israel*, *How shall I give thee*
 ‘ *up* England! *How shall I deliver you*, Scotland
 ‘ *and* Ireland! *How shall I make you as* Admah!
 ‘ *How shall I set you as* Zeboim! My Heart is
 ‘ turned within me, my Repentings are kindled to-
 ‘ gether; yet we cannot say his Wrath is turned
 ‘ away, but his Hand is stretched out still; for tho’
 ‘ we have been emptied from Vessel to Vessel, yet
 ‘ we can find no Rest or Settlement; we see not our
 ‘ Signs, nor any that can tell us how long: This is
 ‘ a Lamentation; and if our Ways towards God in
 ‘ all this be considered, it must be for a Lamenta-
 ‘ tion.

‘ For instead of humbling ourselves under the
 ‘ mighty Hand of God, and meeting him in the
 ‘ Way of his Judgments, we turn our Backs upon
 ‘ him, and cast him out of Mind, vex his holy Ma-
 ‘ jesty with our Murmurings and Complaining of
 ‘ Events, repining at the Miscarriages of Instru-
 ‘ ments, envying, censuring, and fretting against
 ‘ one another; no Man in the mean Time laying
 ‘ his Hand upon his own Heart, saying, *What have*
 ‘ *I done?*

‘ How highly is God provoked by our great Apo-
 ‘ stacy and Backsliding, arising chiefly from want of
 ‘ receiving the Truth in the Love thereof, whereby
 ‘ these Nations are overspread with many Blasphemies
 ‘ and damnable Heresies against God himself,
 ‘ and his glorious Attributes; against the Lord *Je-*
 ‘ *sus Christ*, his Person, his Offices, and his Me-
 ‘ rits; against the Holy Spirit; against the Word
 ‘ of God, the only Rule of Faith and Life, by de-
 ‘ nying the Authority thereof, and crying up the
 ‘ Light in the Hearts of sinful Men, as the Rule
 ‘ and Guide of all their Actions; besides many other
 ‘ abo-

‘ abominable Errors, which have opened a wide
‘ Door for the letting in of the most horrible Con-
‘ tempt of the Ordinances and Institutions of *Jesus*
‘ *Christ*, of the Ministers and Ministry of the glo-
‘ rious Gospel; together with the Growth of gross
‘ Ignorance, Atheism, and Profaneness of all Sorts,
‘ such as vain Swearing and Cursing, Profanation
‘ of the Lord’s Day, Drunkenness, Uncleaness,
‘ and other ungodly Courses, for which the Land
‘ mourns.

‘ And besides all this, that which should be the
‘ Cause of deepest Humiliation to us, and is of high
‘ Provocation to God, is the great Scandal given by
‘ Professors, and the sad Divisions amongst them,
‘ whereby Religion has been so wounded in the House
‘ of its Friends.

‘ And that which makes these Abominations the
‘ more national, and gives us the more Cause to be
‘ humbled for them, is, the too-much Remissness
‘ and Connivance of the Civil Magistrates, (to whom
‘ belongs the Care of maintaining God’s public
‘ Worship, Honour, and Purity of Doctrine, as
‘ well as of punishing all Sins of the second Table)
‘ in permitting the Growth of these Abominations,
‘ by suffering Persons, under the Abuse of Liberty
‘ of Conscience, to disturb the public Ordinances,
‘ and to publish their corrupt Principles and Practi-
‘ ces, to the seducing and infecting others.

‘ And that which makes all these Sins to be out
‘ of Measure sinful, is, that they are against so many
‘ signal Deliverances and Mercies, under such a
‘ glorious Sun-shine of the Gospel, and contrary to
‘ so many Covenants, Vows, and Protestations, per-
‘ sonal and national.

‘ Nor are we, in this Day of our Humiliation, to
‘ forget the Judgments of God, (whereby he gives
‘ these Nations Tokens of his Displeasure) that in
‘ the midst of all our Changes and Unsettlements,
‘ he hath still left us in the Dark, and hid Council
‘ from the Wise; so that hitherto we have not at-
‘ tained unto that happy Settlement in Church and
‘ State, which hath lain so much upon the Spirits,

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

‘ and hath been so much in the Prayers and Desires
‘ of all that fear him.

‘ That there hath been so great a Mortality upon
‘ Man and Beast, in many Places of this Nation,
‘ besides the Decay of Trade, and the great Dearth
‘ which is amongst us, which, if the Lord be not so
‘ merciful as to send seasonable Weather, may
‘ threaten a Famine.

‘ These Things seriously considered, Is there not
‘ a Cause to sanctify a Fast, to call a solemn Assem-
‘ bly, to gather the Elders, and all the Inhabitants
‘ of the Land into the House of the Lord our God,
‘ to cry mightily unto the Lord.

‘ For which Purpose, as also to implore a Bless-
‘ ing from God upon the Councils and Proceedings
‘ of this present Parliament, his Highness the Lord
‘ Protector, and the Parliament, do appoint, That in
‘ all Places within *England, Scotland, and Ireland,*
‘ and the Dominions thereunto belonging, the
‘ Eighteenth Day of *May* next be set apart and ob-
‘ served as a Day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation,
‘ in all Churches, Chapels, and Congregations with-
‘ in the same.

‘ And we do will and require all Ministers and
‘ Pastors of Congregations to read, or cause to be
‘ read, this Declaration, in their several Churches,
‘ Chapels, and Congregations, on the Lord’s Day
‘ next before the said Day of Public Fasting, to the
‘ end the same may be the better taken Notice of.

‘ And we do also hereby will and require all Justi-
‘ ces of the Peace, and other Officers, to see that the
‘ said Day be duly observed: And we do prohibit all
‘ Fairs, Markets, opening of Shops, and other ordi-
‘ nary Labours and Employments, and all Recrea-
‘ tions, upon the said Day.’

‘ The next Day after this Declaration was agreed
to, *April 6,* a Debate arose in the Commons,
about the Manner of transacting Business with the
Other House; when they came to a Resolution
to appoint a Committee to consider and report their
Opinion of this Matter. But the same Day the
House,

House, on the Question, resolved, 'That, in all Messages unto, and Conferences with, the Other House, the like Respect, and no other, be observed by the Members of this House, that is observed by the Persons sitting in the Other House to them.'

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

Mr. *Ludlow*, on this Head, remarks, 'That those of his Party desired, that seeing the House of Commons was undeniably more honourable in the Members of it than the Other, and much more in relation to those whom they represented, that the Members of this House might not go to them with Messages as formerly, unless the Members of the New House would respectively come to us with their Messages; or that the Masters in Chancery, who were accustomed to be the Lords Messengers, might be divided between the two Houses for that Purpose: But this also was denied, and we were told, That a Feather might hinder the Motion of a Clock as well as a Piece of Iron. The subject of our first Transaction with the Other House was touching a Declaration for a Fast; which, by some Expressions in it, of taking Shame to ourselves for neglecting to settle the Government of the Church, and having permitted so many erroneous and heretical Opinions to be divulged, with others of a like Nature, discovered plainly in what Mint it was forged. This Declaration being agreed to, it was ordered to be carried to the Other House, for their Concurrence, by one Mr. *Grove*, who was accompanied by divers young Gentlemen, and many of the Cavalier Party, all of them attending like so many Lackies at the Bar of the Other House, whilst the Ceremonies of presenting it were performed, which were the same that had been formerly used to the Peers on the like Occasion. Those of the Other House were wonderfully pleased with this Application to them, having waited near three Months for it, and, having no Business to do, had consumed great Store of Fire to keep them warm at the Public Charge: Yet, upon the Debate, they found not so great an Unanimity as in the receiving it; for Mr. *Cromwell's* Party and the Presbyterians fell violently upon the

Independents and some of the Army, concerning some Clauses therein inserted, as they said, by those of their Party.' But more of this in the Sequel.

The Public Accounts of the Kingdom having been referred, for Inspection, to a Committee, as well as the Public Revenue, this Day, *April 7*, Mr. *Scowen*, from the said Committee, delivered in a Paper, wherein was stated the whole, drawn up in the following Manner, under this Title:

A brief View of the PUBLIC REVENUE, both certain and casual; with the ordinary Expence of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, in the Three Nations, for one Year; together with a State of the PUBLIC DEBTS, as the same doth appear to the Committee appointed by the House of Commons, for the Inspection into the Accounts and Public Revenue as followeth: That is to say,

The Income of England.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By Assessments of 35000 <i>l.</i> a Month —	420000	0	0
By Customs and Subsidies in the Ports } of London, and the Out-Ports	391630	17	7½
By the Custom of Sea Coal exported out } of England and Scotland, in Farm to Mr. } Noel, at 22000 <i>l.</i> a Year; whereof, Mr. } Noel affirms, 2216 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> is for the } Coals of Scotland, and is hereafter charged } in the Income of Scotland, and therefore to } be here deducted; and the Remain is }	19783	14	8
By the Excise of Goods imported into the } Port of London and the Out-Ports	196783	12	7
By the Excise of inland Commodities of } England and Scotland, in Farm to Mr. } Noel at 65000 <i>l.</i> a Year; whereof, Mr. } Noel affirms, 1674 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> is for the } inland Commodities of Scotland, and is } hereafter charged as Part of the Income } of Scotland, and is therefore here deducted; } and so the Remain is }	58375	15	7
By the Excise of Beer and Ale in Farm	329011	0	0
By Receivers-General, arising chiefly by } Papists and Delinquents Estates }	54087	5	9
			By

of ENGLAND.

327

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By Probate of Wills — — —	7993	18	3
By Postage of Letters, in Farm — —	14000	0	0
By Fines for Alienations — — —	4883	13	4
By the Hanaper Office — — —	3876	9	2
By the Duty of Sea Coals, in Farm —	1838	12	6
By Wine Licences — — —	4131	6	10
By Post Fines, in Farm — — —	3000	0	0
By the Issues of Jurors, in Farm — —	1000	0	0
By the Green Wax, besides the Wages of the Justices of Peace }	835	18	7½
By Sheriffs in the Pipe, and by Minute Rents vested in Trustees for the Sale of Fee-Farm Rents, and for Lands extended; for Outlawries, and Debts lett to Farm }	1542	14	3
By Seizures in the Pipe — — —	844	5	11
By Sheriffs, for Debts of several Natures	498	1	3
By the Butlerage, in Farm — — —	500	0	0
By the Profits of Liberties — — —	81	9	2
By the Forest of <i>Deane</i> , in several Sorts of Iron Shot delivered into the public Stores of the Office of the Ordnance }	1575	14	1½
By the Mint — — —	3	5	9
By the Aulnage, a Rent of 997 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> is in Charge; but for 12 Years last past it hath been ill paid, and sometimes very little; in the Year 1657 was answered }	997	1	11
The Tenths and First-Fruits — — —	<i>Nil.</i>		

Note, That we find, in a Report made by a Grand Committee for the Public Revenue, in the Year 1654, a yearly Income set upon the Particulars following; that is to say,

Upon the Forest of <i>Deane</i> — — —	4000	0	0
The Islands of <i>Guernsey</i> and <i>Jersey</i> — —	2000	0	0
The Coinage of Tin — — —	2000	0	0
But nothing answered for any of those, save the Sum of 1575 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> ¼ out of the Forest of <i>Deane</i> , in Iron Shot, as before is expressed.			

Note, also, That, the last Year, there was answered in the Exchequer the several Sums of Money hereafter mentioned; that is to say,

For

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For Deans and Chapters Lands, sold	3433	11	7
For Fee-Farm Rents, sold	1134	15	4
For Compositions for new Buildings	30229	19	7½
For Prize-Goods	3770	0	0
For Fines of Delinquents, at	3565	15	9
For Fines in Star-Chamber	0	0	0
From the Commissioners of sequestered Estates	160	0	0
From the Treasurers at <i>Drury-House</i>	400	0	0
Forestalled Debts	603	6	8
From the Collectors of the 400000 <i>l.</i>	111	19	10½
Subsidy			
For the Duty of one <i>per Cent.</i>	4382	9	11
For Fines of Leases	26	4	0
For Goods forfeited for Treason	215	0	0
For Lands seized and extended	221	16	1
For Rent of Lands	1511	1	4
For the <i>Plymouth</i> Duty	500	0	0
For Sale of Woods	58	10	0
For the Duchy of <i>Lancaster</i>	649	8	0½
For the <i>Yorkshire</i> Engagement	400	0	0
These Duties are casual, and many of them are expired, and the rest are declining; and tho' some Money may be raised and gotten in upon them, towards the Payment of the Public Debts, yet are not to be reckoned, or relied upon, as an annual Income. And so the whole annual Income of			
<i>England</i> is	1568648	15	5½

The Income of *Scotland*.

By Assessments of 6000 <i>l.</i> a Month	72000	0	0
By Property and constant Rent, payable into the Exchequer	5324	18	5½
By Casualty, and uncertain Rent, received by Sheriffs, and accounted for in the Exchequer	576	3	5
By Composition of Signatories in the Exchequer	929	6	0
By Customs inward and outward, and by the Excise of Goods imported, in Farm to Mr. Neel.	12500	0	0

By

of ENGLAND.

329

l. s. d.

By the Customs of Sea Coal, in Farm to Mr. Noel, with the Customs of Sea Coal in *England*; at the Rent of 22000*l.* a Year; and for which Mr. Noel affirms, that the Sum of 2216*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* is paid for the Coals of *Scotland*; and is therefore deducted out of that Rent in the Income of *England* before mentioned; and is here to be charged as Part of the Income of *Scotland*.

2216 5 4

By the Excise of Foreign Salt, 550*l.* a Year; and, by the Excise of Inland Salt, 1124*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* in all, 1674*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* which Commodities are in Farm to Mr. Noel, with the Excise of the Inland Commodities of *England*, under the yearly Rent of 65,000*l.* And is therefore deducted out of that Rent in the Income of *England* before mentioned, and is here to be charg'd as Part of the Income of *Scotland*.

1674 9 5

By the Excise of Beer, Ale, and Aquavita

47444 13 4

By Forfeiture of Goods uncustomed and unexcised

595 10 11 $\frac{1}{2}$

By the Interest of Money set apart for the Judges Salaries

391 5 0

And so the whole annual Income of *Scotland* is

143652 11 11

The Income of *Ireland*.

By the Assessments of 9000*l.* a Month —

108000 0 0

By Customs and Excise, in Farm —

70000 0 0

By Rents of Lands, Houses, &c. —

20679 0 0

By Rents of Improvements, &c. —

7611 0 0

By Sheriffs Accompts; the Hanaper Accompts, with Fines and Amercements }

1500 0 0

And so the whole annual Income of *Ireland* is

207790 0 0

The

The Issues of England.

In Pay of the Army of England, at 52867*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* by the Month, according to the Establishment hereafter following; that is to say,

	By the Month.	By the Year.
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
To the General Officers of the Army	639 11 4	
To nine Regiments of Horse, each Regiment consisting of six Troops, and each Troop of 48 Soldiers	11709 12 0	
To the Life-Guard of 106 Soldiers	1080 16 0	
To eight Regiments and two Companies of Foot; each Regiment consisting of ten Companies, and each Company of 80 Soldiers	9415 6 4	351743 6 0
To the Train of Artillery	44 12 6	
To divers Garrisons in several Places	6422 0 8	
In Part of the Pay of the Army in Scotland, out of the Assessments	11400 0 0	136800 0 0
In Part of the Pay of the Army in Ireland, out of the Assessments	8000 0 0	96000 0 0
In Pay of the Forces of Jamaica, consisting of 1597 Soldiers, with Officers	4153 2 0	49837 4 0

In the Pay of the Forces in Flanders at 6151*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* by the Month, according to the Establishment hereafter following; that is to say,

	By the Month.	By the Year.
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
To a Regiment of Horse, consisting of six Troops, and each Troop of 95 Troopers	2269 1 0	
To three Regiments of Foot, each Regiment consisting of 10 Companies, and each Company of 90 Soldiers	3357 4 0	
To two Majors; one for Dunkirk, and one for Mardyke	9 6 8	

To

	By the Month.			By the Year.		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the Train of Artillery	266	14	0	73815	8	0
For Contingencies	—	49	0			
To a Minister <i>per Annum</i>	200	0	0			

The whole Pay of the Army and Forces for a Year } 708195 18 0

Besides an Allowance of Cloaths to the Non-Commission Officers and Foot Soldiers in *Flanders*.

In the Pay of the ordinary Guards and Fleets at Sea, and Building of Ships, by way of Estimate yearly, as followeth; that is to say,

ENGLAND.

For the Charge of 7500 Men, to be employed in 50 Ships, for a Summer's Guard for seven Months, at 4 <i>l.</i> a Man <i>per Month</i>	210000	0	0
For the Charge of 5250 Men to be employed in 35 Ships, for a Winter's Guard for seven Months, at 4 <i>l.</i> a Man <i>per Month</i>	147000	0	0
For Building of Ships yearly	4000	0	0
In the Pay of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Commissioners of the Navy, and the Treasurers of the Navy	7744	0	0
In the Pay of the Standing Officers belonging to the Yards, and of Ships in Harbours	3628	6	10
In the Pay of the Officers and Seamen employed in the Looking-to of Ships in Docks, and otherwise unemployed	45613	13	9
The whole Charge of the Navy by the Year	417986	0	7

In Interest paid for 268047*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* charged upon the Receipt of the Excise by Acts and Ordinances of Parliament for a Year } 20585 13 7

In Expence of his Highness's Household yearly } 100000 0 0

In Repair of his Highness's Houses yearly } 5650 0 0

In Monies advanced to the Treasurer of his Highness's public Contingencies } 23496 6 8

In

In Allowances to public Ministers employed abroad	11089	11	2
In Gifts and Rewards	2262	12	2
In Payments of sundry Natures, as by a Particular	11734	12	8½
In Liberaties of the Courts at the Receipt of the Exchequer, and for a Defalcation upon Sea Coal	582	16	3½
In Allowances, Fees, and Salaries, paid out of the Exchequer	24674	7	7½
In Pensions and Annuities paid out of the Exchequer	5897	0	0
In Salaries to Judges in <i>England</i> and <i>Wales</i> , and a Pension of 500 <i>l.</i> yearly paid out of the Customs to the Earl of <i>Nottingham</i>	16286	13	4
In Salaries, Fees, and Charges, incident and extraordinary in managing the Excise yearly	28178	3	11
In the like, for managing the Customs yearly	42714	3	5
In the like, for collecting the monthly Assessments of 35000 <i>l.</i> a Month, the Sum of 7000 <i>l.</i> and for the Charges and Salaries of the Committee of the Army and Treasurers at Wars, 8279 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>	15279	9	2
In the like, for the Committee of Appeals	1800	0	0
In the like, for the Judges and other Officers employed in the Probate of Wills, and incident Charges	2584	10	0
In the like, paid by, and allowed to, the Clerk of the Hanaper in ordinary, 751 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> and of extraordinary Payments, 3123 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i>	3875	6	11
In the like Fees and Allowances to the Receiver, &c. of the Office of Alienations	1044	17	0
In Fees to the Officers of the Mint, with their Diet and incident Charges	1154	19	5
In Officers Salaries, Rent, and other Charges of the Office of Wine Licences, by Estimate	600	0	0
In Fees and Allowances to the Auditors and Receivers of the Revenue	4287	10	4

of ENGLAND.

333

In Allowances in the Pipe, upon Sheriffs Accompts, by Warrant from the Commissioners of the Treasury, and Judgment of the Court of Exchequer; that is to say, for casual Necessaries of several Natures, 2498*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* for apprehending of Felons, 945*l.* and, in Fees in passing of Sheriffs Accompts, 2098. In all

l. *s.* *d.*

5541 14 10

The Sum is

329320 8 6½

The whole Issues of *England* for a Year

1455502 7 1½

In Pay of the Army in *Scotland*, at 20819*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* by the Month, according to the Establishment hereafter following; that is to say,

The Issues of *Scotland*,

By the Month.

By the Year.

To the General Officers of the Army

343 14 0

To five Regiments of Horse, each Regiment consisting of six Troops, and each Troop of 48 Soldiers

6505 6 8

To 11 Regiments and one Company of Foot, each Regiment consisting of ten Companies, and each Company of 70 Soldiers

11900 2 4

249830 10 0

To four Companies of Dragoons, each Company consisting of 48 Dragoons

630 18 8

To the Train of Artillery

50 19 2

To divers Garrisons in several Places

288 3 4

To defray Contingencies

1100 0 0

In Salaries to the Counsel and their Officers

9410 11 0

In contingent Charges of the Counsel

350 0 0

In Salaries to the Court of Exchequer

1833 4 2

In the contingent Charges of the Exchequer

80 10 2½

In Salaries to the Courts of Justice

4246 4 0

In contingent Charges of the Courts of Justice

486 12 0

In

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
In Salaries to the Commissioners of the Customs, and of the Excise }	4177	9	6
In the contingent Charges of the said Commissioners }	771	9	4
In Salaries to the Court of Admiralty, and their Officers }	304	8	8
In the contingent Charges of the Admiralty	167	14	1
In Charges of an Hospital ———	587	10	6
In Fire and Candles to Soldiers for Guards, &c. }	5297	19	4
In Pensions, and other temporary Contingencies }	8915	15	9
The whole Issues of <i>Scotland</i> for a Year	286458	18	6½

In Pay of the Army in *Ireland*, at 23799*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* by the Month, according to the Establishment hereafter following; that is to say,

The Issues of Ireland.

	<i>By the Month.</i>	<i>By the Year.</i>
To the General Officers of the Army }	657 17 4	285594 16 0
To 11 Regiments and 10 Companies of Foot }	11473 0 0	
To six Regiments and three Troops of Horse }	9293 19 4	
To a Regiment of Dragoons }	1162 4 8	
To the Life-Guard of Horse }	277 18 0	
To a Foot-Guard —	155 8 0	
To an Hospital ———	279 4 0	
To Reparations of Garisons }	500 0 0	
In the Entertainment of the Lord Lieutenant		3864 8 11
In Allowances to the Counsel, and the Clerks of the Counsel, and their Clerks and Attendants }		7600 0 0
		<i>In</i>

of ENGLAND.

335

	l.	s.	d.
In Allowances of the Lord Chancellor, } and the Officers of the Chancery	2258	0	0
In Allowances to the Lord Chief Justice } of the Upper Bench, and two Judges and } Clerks of the Crown	1167	10	0
In Allowances to the Lord Chief Justice } of the Common Pleas, and two Judges, and } the Prothonotary	1007	10	0
In Allowance to the Chancellor, Chief } Baron, and two Barons of the Exchequer, } with other Officers, and Payments by Li- } berats	1991	15	0
In Pay and Allowances to the Justices of } Assize in five Circuits	1000	0	0
In Pay to the Lord President of <i>Connaught</i> , } and two Provost-Marshals of <i>Lemster</i> and } <i>Munster</i>	1887	0	0
In Pay to the Overseers of the Hospital of } <i>Dublin</i> , nine Muster-Masters, five Commis- } saries of Stores to the Overseers of the } State's Houses; with an Allowance of the } Provosts and Fellows of <i>Trinity College</i>	1807	8	4
In Pay of eight Receivers of the Revenue	165	0	0
In Pay to 28 Comptrollers and Search- } ers of the Customs	1150	0	0
In Pensions to maimed Soldiers, and } Widows and Orphans of Soldiers	3000	0	0
In Allowances and Contingencies, extra- } ordinary Gratuities, and other casual Issues	8000	0	0
The whole Issues of <i>Ireland</i> for a Year	320493	8	3
The annual Income of <i>England</i> is	1568648	15	5½
The annual Issues and Expences of <i>Eng-</i> } <i>land</i> are	1455502	7	1½
The Balance is	113146	8	4½
The annual Income of <i>Scotland</i> is	143652	11	11
The annual Issues and Expences of } <i>Scotland</i>	286458	18	6½
The Balance is	142806	6	7½

The

	l.	s.	d.
The annual Income of <i>Ireland</i> is	207790	0	0
The annual Issues and Expences of <i>Ireland</i>	320493	8	3
The Balance is	112703	18	3
The annual Income of <i>England, Scotland, and Ireland</i> , is	1920091	7	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
The annual Issues and Expences of <i>England, Scotland, and Ireland</i> , are	2052454	13	11
The Balance is	132363	6	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

The State of the Debts of the Commonwealth; that is to say,

To the Navy, to <i>November 1, 1658</i> , as the same is certified by the Commis- sioners of the Admiralty and of the Navy, by way of Estimate	541465	41	7
To the Army in <i>England</i> , to <i>March 29, 1659</i> , as the same is certified by the Com- mittee of the Army	223747	8	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the Army in <i>Scotland</i> , to <i>March 29, 1659</i> , as the same is certified by the Audi- tor of <i>Scotland</i>	93827	13	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
More for the Citadel of <i>Leith</i>	1800	0	0
To the Army in <i>Ireland</i> , to <i>Dec. 20,</i> as the same is certified by the Council of <i>Ireland</i>	299225	5	4
More to pay up that Army to <i>March 29, 1659</i> , by Estimate	71903	12	0
To the Forces in <i>Jamaica</i> , to <i>Feb, 1, 1657</i> , 103045 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> as by a Certi- ficate from the Treasurer for that Service; one Third Part whereof being abated for Provisions, there is due 68697 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> $\frac{1}{3}$. And for the said Forces, from the said 1st of <i>February, 1657</i> , to <i>March 26, 1659</i> , at 4153 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> per Month, for 15 Months, 62296 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> out of which one Third Part being abated for Provisions, as before, there is due, in the Whole,	110228	11	3 $\frac{1}{3}$

To

of ENGLAND.

337

To several Persons, for Provisions for the Forces in *Flanders*, as by a Certificate from the Commissioners of the Treasury } *l.* *s.* *d.*
13153 6 1

To several Persons, for Monies charged by Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, as by the Accompt of the Commissioners of Excise appears. } 268047 19 6

To several Persons, charged upon the Exchequer, as the same is certified by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury } 124184 15 6

The whole Debt at present is — — 1747584 2 10

Besides which there is a growing Debt incurring for the Navy for this present Year's Service, determining *November 1*, 1659, over and above the Sum of 143292*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, which is already received towards this Service; and the Sum of 417986*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* allowed for the ordinary Charge of the Fleet, as in the Issues of this Year appears, the Sum of } 393882 8 0

And further, whereas the Issues and Expences of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, exceeded the Income of 132363*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ as by the Balance of the Three Nations is before declared, that Sum is a growing Debt on the Commonwealth, and will be due before the End of the Year. } 132363 6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

The whole Debt of the Public, at present, and before the Year end, is, and will be } 2273830 4 4

That is to say, In the present Debts before-mentioned } 1747584 5 9

In the growing Debt of the Navy for this present Year } 393882 8 0

In the Issues this Year, more than the Income } 132393 6 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

Besides what may be due to the Forces in *Flanders*; of which there is no Account to be had.

‘Mr. *Scawen* further reported, That, since the stating and drawing up of this Report, the Committee had received some
VOL. XXI. Y Papers

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

Papers from *Flanders*, concerning the Arrears due to the Forces there; which the Committee conceive, upon what they have seen of them, may amount to between 8 and 10,000*l.* which is to be added to the Debt depending upon the Foot of the Accompt now reported.

‘ The House taking Notice of the great Pains taken by the Committee who brought in this Report, and of their Faithfulness and Exactness in the stating of this Accompt, it was resolved, &c. ‘ That the Thanks of this House be given to Mr. *Scawen*, and to the rest of the Members of this House of the said Committee, for their great Pains, Care, and Faithfulness in this Service.’

‘ Mr. Speaker gave the Thanks of the House to Mr. *Scawen*, and to the rest of the Members of the House that are of this Committee, they standing up in their Places respectively.

‘ Resolved, &c. That the Debate upon this Report be adjourned until *Saturday* Morning next, and then taken up again; and that nothing else do then intervene.’

April 8. Sir *Walter Erle* reported from the Committee, to whom it was referred to consider of the Manner of transacting with the Other House, the Resolutions of the said Committee. The first of which was, ‘ That such Messäges as shall be sent from this House to the Other House, shall be carried by Members of this House.’ Hereupon a Debate arose, and it being put to the Question, the House divided, and it went in the Affirmative, 136 against 102. The second Vote, now reported from the Committee, was in these Words, ‘ That such Messäges as shall be sent from the Other House to this House shall not be received, unless brought by Members of their own Number.’ This occasioned another Division on the Question, and was carried also in the Affirmative; but on a much nearer Division than any we have met with in this Parliament, being only by 127 against 114.

On

On the same Day a Letter from his Highness the Lord Protector, directed *To our Trusty and Right Well-beloved Thomas Bampffield, Esq; Speaker of our House of Commons; to be communicated to the House.* Signed, at the Head, *Richard P.* and dated *April 8, 1659*, was this Day read in the House. The *Journals* only add, That, in the said Letter, his Highness represented to the Parliament the Humble Representation and Petition of the General Council of the Officers of the Armies of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, which was also read.

Inter-regnum.
1649.
April.

It is necessary to stop here, and explain the Nature of this Petition a little further than the *Journals* do; since, as *Whitlocke* says, it was the Beginning of *Richard's* Fall. It was, as the same Author informs us, to set forth, 'Their Want of Pay, the Insolencies of the Enemy, and their Designs, together with some in Power, to ruin the Army and the Good old Cause, and to bring in the Enemies thereof; to prevent which, and to provide against Free Quarter, they desired his Highness to advise with the Parliament, and to provide an effectual Remedy.'

Mr. *Whitlocke*, adds, 'That this Beginning was set on foot by *Richard's* near Relations, *Desborough*, who married his Aunt, and *Fleetwood*, who married his Sister, with others of their Party, whilst the Parliament was disputing with the Other House, and took no Care to provide Money, which exasperated the Army, and laid the Foundation of all their Ruins.'

Mr. *Ludlow* tell us, 'That these Divisions were not confined within the Walls of both Houses, but broke out in the Army itself; the Officers growing jealous of one another, and were divided into three Factions, neither of these much superior in Number; that one Party was known to be well affected to the Commonwealth, and consisted chiefly of the following Officers, *viz.* Col. *Ashfield*, Col. *Lilburn*, Col. *Fitz*, Lieut. Col. *Mason*, Lieut. Col. *Moss*, Lieut. Col. *Farley*, and Major *Creed*, with divers Captains,

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

tains, and other inferior Officers. A second Party was known by the Title of the *Wallingford-House*, or *Army-Party*, who had advanced Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, in Expectation of governing all as they pleased: Of these were Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Clark*, Col. *Kelsey*, Col. *Berry*, Major *Haines*, Treasurer *Blackwell*, and some others. The third Party was that of Mr. *Richard Cromwell*; who, having cast off those that had taken the Pains to advance him, joined himself to Men that were more suitable to his Inclinations; such were Col. *Ingoldby*, Col. *Gough*, Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Howard*, Col. *Goodrick*, Lieut. Col. *Keins*, with many others, and more particularly those that were Officers in the *Scots* and *Irish* Forces: But his Cabinet Council were the Lord *Broughill*, Dr. *Wilkins*, and Col. *Philip Jones*. To these he might have added Mr. Commissioner *Whitlocke*; who, as himself writes, was of this Cabinet Council, and always declared his Judgment honestly, and for the Good of *Richard*, whenever his Advice was required.

But as it hath been hitherto our Custom not to content ourselves with Abridgments, but whenever we could find the Originals, to give them at large, we subjoin the following Petition, taken from a Pamphlet of these Times, in our Collection.

To his Highness RICHARD, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging,

The humble REPRESENTATION and PETITION of the General Council of the Officers of the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The Army's Petition to the Protector.

HAVING, as Members of the Army, often solemnly declared, not without Appeals to God for our Sincerity therein, That we did engage, in Judgment and Conscience, for the just Rights

' Rights and Liberties, Civil and Religious, of our
' Countries, and not as a mercenary Army: Had
' we not been very jealous of our Reputation, and
' careful to avoid Suspicion, which our many Adver-
' saries have endeavoured to bring upon us, as if we
' were apt to intermeddle with Matters not relating
' to an Army, we had, before this Time, made
' joint and public Application to your Highness;
' therein setting forth what immediately concerns
' ourselves, with respect to the crying Necessities of
' the Armies, for want of Pay; and withall to have
' manifested our fervent Desires, that our good
' Cause, in the Behalf of these Nations, might have
' received renewed Strength and Countenance from
' your Highness and this present Parliament.

' But your Highness is our Witness, how peace-
' able, how silently, we have suffered, as to what
' concerns the Armies Wants; or what might
' otherwise become us, in the Behalf of these Na-
' tions, to have laid before your Highness.

' Yea, we have been silent so long, that we fear
' it has been a Disadvantage to our Cause, and bred,
' though we hope groundless, Jealousies of us in
' many of our Friends; and until we, and all that
' is dear to us, and the Interest we have so long
' contended for, is in Danger to be lost; to the
' utter Ruin and Subversion of your Highness, to-
' gether with the Peace and Welfare of these Na-
' tions. But being now, under the Sense of immi-
' nent Dangers and Necessities, awakened; and also
' finding that your Highness, by the sitting of this
' Parliament, is in a Capacity to provide against the
' approaching Danger; and upon Consultation with
' each other, and communicating what has come
' to our Knowledge of public Concernment, and
' the present State of the Armies, having unani-
' mously agreed it to be our Duty to God, to your
' Highness, and our Fidelity to our Country, sub-
' missively, and as becomes us in our Stations, to
' make our Application to your Highness, we hope
' it will not be interpreted an Interruption to any
' other public Concernments under Consideration;

The Parliamentary HISTORY

‘ and do therefore, in a deep Sense of Misery and
 ‘ Judgment threatened, and Pursuance of our Duty,
 ‘ in all Humility, represent,

‘ That the good old Cause against Tyranny and
 ‘ intolerable Oppression, in Matters Civil and Reli-
 ‘ gious, whereupon we first engaged, and unto which
 ‘ the Lord hath, in such a continued Series of Provi-
 ‘ dence, given so signal a Testimony, and for the car-
 ‘ rying on whereof there hath been such a plentiful
 ‘ pouring forth of Treasures, Prayers, Tears, and
 ‘ Blood, during the late War, (in the Difficulties and
 ‘ Dangers whereof we also, the living Monuments of
 ‘ Patience and Mercy, have had our Shares) is very
 ‘ frequently and publickly derided and reproached;
 ‘ and the implacable Adversaries thereof promise
 ‘ themselves to be so far in Possession and Masters
 ‘ thereof, that they begin to appear every where
 ‘ visible amongst us, and to mix themselves in the
 ‘ midst of those Places where that Cause was wont
 ‘ to receive its chiefest Countenance and Shelter.

‘ Many old Cavaliers, and Officers under the late
 ‘ King, and *Charles Stuart*, his Son, having lately
 ‘ transported themselves out of *Flanders* and other
 ‘ Places into this Nation, have their frequent Meet-
 ‘ ings in and near the City of *London*. Those who also
 ‘ served under the late King, and such as have al-
 ‘ ways shewed themselves disaffected to that famous
 ‘ Long Parliament, and ever since to the Cause and
 ‘ Interest of this Commonwealth, and seek the Ruin
 ‘ of this present Government, have their frequent
 ‘ Meetings in several Counties of this Nation; grow
 ‘ very insolent, offer many Affronts and Assaults to
 ‘ such as have been and are faithful Servants to this
 ‘ Commonwealth. Papers are scattered up and
 ‘ down, containing Lists of eminent Asserters of the
 ‘ public Interest of this Nation, such as were the
 ‘ actual Triers of the late King, and by whom he
 ‘ was brought to condign Punishment, as if they
 ‘ were designed and marked out for Destruction.
 ‘ Encouragement is taken for the Prosecution of se-
 ‘ veral well-affected Persons, and Suits commenced
 ‘ against them at the Common Law, for Matters by
 ‘ them

then transacted as Soldiers, by Command from
their Superiors, in order to the Safety and Security of the Nations. The famous Actions of the
Parliament, his late Highness of blessed Memory,
and the Army in and since the Year 1648, vilified
and evil spoken of; particular Persons frequently
daring to speak against the Authority of Parliament, and to call all their Proceedings, and of
such as acted in Obedience to them, illegal and
unwarrantable. So that, upon the whole, we
evidently see there is but even a Step betwixt the
Public Cause of these Nations, wherein we have
been so signally blessed and owned of God and
good Men, and the Death thereof; and that it is
not likely to expire without a sure Presage of the
sad Funerals of the dear, and never to be enough
valued, Peace of these our native Countries.

And that our Enemies may want nothing that
can strengthen their Hopes, it so happens that the
Armies are already under great Extremities for
want of Pay, and notwithstanding their Condition
hath been represented, yet no effectual Remedy
hath been applied; our Enemies may hope Discontent will be the more easily raised, if the Armies should unavoidably be necessitated upon Free
Quarter. Divisions in the Armies have been attempted and well near affected, when their Wants
have not been like to what is now upon them:
The Officers Purfes being generally emptied by
their Loans to the Soldiers, their Credits to the
Victuallers extended to the utmost; the poor Soldier sometimes inforced to sell his expected Pay
much under the Value thereof, for ready Money
to buy Bread; and the great and unusual Mortality of Horses in the Army (insomuch that many
Troopers have been forced to buy twice over)
having brought the Horse of this Army under exceeding great Extremities: And as by these Means
the Adversaries to the Peace, Settlement, Prosperity,
Civil and Religious Liberty of these Nations, are
grown very confident and high in their Expectations and Attempts, (and, as we are persuaded,
ready

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

ready to betake themselves to their Arms again) so likewise many Friends thereof are exceedingly discouraged.

We cannot but bewail our own great Failings and Turnings aside, and whenever we have backsliden, we have Cause, and desire, to take Shame to ourselves: And do therefore, for the strengthening of your Highness and Parliament, for the reviving the Hearts of our faithful Friends, and the Vindication of our own Integrity against all Censures and Jealousies, assert, That we are now, as ever, equally endeared to our good old Cause, and utter Enemies to all Tyranny, Oppression, and Disturbance of the Public Peace, under what Pretences soever: And, thro' the Lord's Assistance, resolved, whilst our Lives and present Capacities are continued to us, to stand by and assist your Highness and Parliament, in the plucking the Wicked out of their Places, wheresoever they may be discovered, either amongst ourselves or any other Places of Trust; the Reformation of Law and Manners, so frequently declared for, and so earnestly expected, by all sober and unbiassed Men; opening the Course of Justice and Bowels of Mercy, encouraging the Ways of Holiness, and putting a Stop to the Inundation of Malignancy and Profaneness.

All which, as it hath been, in Duty and Faithfulness, by us represented, so we humbly pray, That your Highness, taking into your serious Consideration the sad Condition of the Armies, and Danger of the Nations, both from the great Want of Pay and the Activity of our common Enemy, will be pleased to represent these Things, which we have herein laid before your Highness, to the Parliament, with our humble Desire and Prayer, that a speedy Supply be made for the Armies; that their past Arrear may be satisfied, and Care taken for their constant future Pay, so long as it shall be thought fit to continue them; as also that Satisfaction be given to the Militia Forces; and that there may be such a public Asserting of

our

‘ our good old Cause, and Justification and Confirmation of all Proceedings in Prosecution and Maintenance thereof, and Declaration against its Enemies, as may, for the future, deter all Persons from speaking or attempting any thing to the Prejudice thereof, or of the Persons that have acted in Prosecution of it, and afford present Security to the Civil and Religious Rights and Liberties of these Nations, and the Peace thereof; and that the Liberty of good and well-affected People, in repairing with Freedom to their Meetings for the Worship of God (of late much violated by inditing and imprisoning many of their Persons) may be still asserted and vindicated.’

Now to proceed with the *Journals*:—

From the 9th to the 13th of *April* the Commons were again busy about the Public Revenue, and examining the Farmers of it in various Branches, which we omit, as not much to our Purpose; and because all their Inquisitions ended in doing nothing. Some other Business was also entered into, but of as little Consequence as the other, till

April 14. When it was resolved, ‘ That a Member of this House be appointed to carry the Declaration, concerning the Public Fast, to the Persons sitting in the Other House, for their Concurrence.’

Mr. *Grove* was the Member agreed on for that Office; but, before he went up, a Question was put, ‘ Whether Mr. *Grove*, when he had delivered this Message to the Persons sitting in the Other House, shall return to this House without staying for any Answer?’ The House divided, and the Numbers were found to be 100 for, and 144 against it.

Mr. *Grove* being returned from the Other House, gave this Account of his Embassy, ‘ That, in Obedience to the Commands of this House, he had delivered to them in the Other House, the Declaration for a Public Fast, for their Concurrence thereunto:

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

unto: That, a little Time after himself and other Members of this House, who accompanied him to deliver his Message, and went with him into the Other House, were withdrawn, they were called in again, and received this Answer from them of the Other House, 'That they would send an Answer by Messengers of their own.'

April 15. The Members being met in the House this Morning, and the Mace placed below, under the Table, they were informed, That Mr. *Chaloner Chute*, who, at the first Meeting of the Parliament, was chosen their Speaker, was dead, Mr. *Cooper*, the Minister appointed to perform the Duty of Prayer with the House on Mornings, was called in to Prayers; and Prayer being ended, and the Minister withdrawn, the several Members, sitting in their Places, consider'd of the Choice of a new Speaker: And, upon Consideration of the Experience the House had of the great Integrity and Ability of Mr. *Thomas Bampffield*, who was called to the Chair, to supply the Speaker's Place during the Absence and Indisposition of Mr. *Chute*, the late Speaker, now dead, and what good Service he had done the House, especially in the Preservation of the ancient Orders thereof, it was propounded to the House, That Mr. *Bampffield* might be continued in their Service, and that he might be chosen Speaker accordingly.

Mr. *Bampffield*, standing up in his Place, first acknowledged to the House the great Honour that was put upon him, in calling him to the Chair before, upon Mr. Speaker *Chute's* Sickness and Indisposition; and endeavoured to excuse himself, upon the Reasons of the Experience the House had of his Unfitness for their Service, and desired Mr. *Edward Turner*, a Person of great Abilities, and Fitness for their Service, might be chosen their Speaker: But Mr. *Thomas Bampffield* being generally call'd on by the House, he was brought to the Chair by Sir *Walter Erle* and Mr. *Carew Raleigh*; and, being set in the Chair, and the Mace placed on the Table by the

Ser-

Serjeant, as is usual, the House proceeded on their Inter-regnum.
Bulines as formerly. 1659.

April.

April 16. A Paper, written on the Outside thereof with these Words, *For the Speaker of the Commons assembled in Parliament; these are for him to read to the House of Commons*, was this Day read; and, upon the Reading thereof, the same, amongst other Things, referred to another Paper, intituled, *A Declaration to the Parliament, &c. delivered the 6th Day of the second Month, called April, 1659, to the then Speaker of the said House*. The said Papers were presented by certain Persons, who are commonly called Quakers.

Resolved, &c. That the Answer to be given to the Paper now read, and the Paper thereby referred to, be as followeth, *viz.* That this House hath read their Paper, and doth declare their Dislike of the Scandals thereby cast upon Magistracy and Ministry, and doth therefore order, That they do forthwith resort to their respective Habitations, and there apply themselves to their Callings, and submit themselves to the Laws of the Nation, and the Magistracy they live under.

The Question being put, That the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do return the aforesaid answer to the Persons that presented the aforesaid Papers to the House, it passed with the Negative.

The Serjeant, by the Command of the House, was directed to call in *Thomas Moore, John Crook, and Edward Byllyng*, three of the Persons that signed the Paper mentioned to be delivered the 6th of this Instant *April*, to receive the said Answer at the Bar of the House; and to take off their Hats before they come within the Door of the House: And, *Thomas Moore* being absent, the said *John Crook*, and *Edward Byllyng* were brought in to the Bar, with their Hats off: And Mr. Speaker, by the Command of the House, declared to them, standing at the Bar, the aforesaid Answer accordingly.

Resolved, &c. That the Clerk do take Care that the Answer given by the House this Day to the Papers

Inter-regnum.
1659.

April.

pers presented to the House by the Persons commonly called Quakers, be forthwith printed.'

The Army now began to be formidable to the two Houses at *Westminster*, and therefore the Commons thought proper to attack them in their Way, and prevent, if possible, their being turned out of Doors, as their Predecessors had been before them, by those Red Coat Patriots, who carry always the *Argumentum Baculinum* along with them.

April 18. This Day, being *Monday*, the House, immediately after Prayers, ordered their Doors to be shut in, and none of the Members suffered to go out without Leave. A Question was then proposed and put, 'That, during the sitting of the Parliament, there shall be no General Council, or Meetings, of the Officers of the Army, without the Direction, Leave, and Authority, of his Highness the Lord Protector and both Houses of Parliament.' On this Question the House divided, and it was carried in the Affirmative, 163 to 87. Another Resolution was also agreed to, without any Division, 'That no Person shall have, or continue, any Command or Trust, in any of the Armies or Navies of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or any the Dominions or Territories thereunto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, That he will not disturb, nor interrupt, the free Meetings in Parliament, of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or the Freedom in their Debates and Counsels.' Resolved, also, 'That the Concurrence of the Other House be desired to these Votes; and that Mr. *John Stephens* do carry them to that House.'

The Commons next voted, That they would take into Consideration how the Arrears of the Armies and Navies might be speedily satisfied the next Morning. They likewise ordered in a Bill, For indemnifying all such as had acted under the Parliament and Commonwealth. The Attorney and Solicitor General to prepare and bring in the same. And the House being then informed, That
divers

divers People, who had been in Arms against the Parliament, and other dangerous Persons, had resort of late to the City of *London*, and Parts adjacent, the House referred it to a Committee, then named, to propose some effectual Way, how his Highness, the Parliament, and Nation, might be secured against any Attempts from them. To meet about the same, at Six o'Clock this Evening, in the Speaker's Chamber.

The next Day, *April 19*, Mr. *Annesley*, from the aforesaid Committee, delivered in a Declaration, ready drawn, to the House, requiring all such dangerous Persons to depart the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and late Lines of Communication, to the Distance of twenty Miles. This was read first, intirely, and afterwards, in Parts; and it was after, with some Amendments and Alterations, agreed to by the House.

Mr. *Stephens* reported the Answer from the Other House to the Votes he carried up to them, the Day before, 'That they would take the same into Consideration, and return an Answer thereunto by Messengers of their own.' But no Answer to any of these Matters, so sent up to the Other House, ever came from them again; for,

April 20, and the Day after, we find nothing of it in the *Journals*; the Commons busying themselves in settling the Public Revenue; except agreeing upon a Title to a late Declaration, which seems to have been forgot before; and,

April 22. After appointing a Committee to attend his Highness to desire him to pay Mr. *Cowper*, their Minister, Fifty Pounds, for his great Labour and Pains in performing the Duty of Prayer daily in the House, since the Meeting of this Parliament, the House seems to be in a great Bustle. But what is said of it in the *Journals* is only this, 'That the House taking Notice, that some of their Members went

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

went out of the House, it was ordered, That those Gentlemen, who now went out, should be called in again to give their Attendance in the House. Also, That none of the Members do depart without Leave of the House; and that all Strangers be commanded, forthwith, to depart out of the Lobby, or outward Room, before the Parliament Door; and that none but such as are Members be suffered to come in, and the Door of the said outward Room be kept shut. Lastly, it was resolved, That this House be adjourned until *Monday Morning* next, the 25th Instant; and was adjourned accordingly.

In the mean Time the following Proclamation was published for their Dissolution.

By the Lord Protector.

‘ **W** Hereas we summoned our High Court of
 ‘ Parliament to assemble and meet together
 ‘ at our City of *Westminster*, the 27th of *January*
 ‘ last, which hath continued untill this present Day;
 ‘ and whereas we did, by our Commission under the
 ‘ Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date at *Westmin-*
 ‘ *ster* this present 22d Day of *April*, for divers weigh-
 ‘ ty Reasons, declare our Pleasure and Resolution to
 ‘ dissolve the said Parliament; and to that End did
 ‘ thereby constitute and appoint our Right Trusty and
 ‘ Well-Beloved Counsellor *Nathanael Fiennes*, one
 ‘ of the Lord Keepers of our Great Seal of *England*,
 ‘ and others our Commissioners, in our Names, this
 ‘ said present 22d Day of *April*, to dissolve our said
 ‘ Parliament, which was by them done according
 ‘ to the Tenor of the said Commission, in the usual
 ‘ Place; and by Virtue thereof our Parliament is
 ‘ absolutely dissolved; nevertheless we thought it
 ‘ necessary, with the Advice of our Privy Council, by
 ‘ this our Proclamation, to publish and make known
 ‘ the same, to the End all Persons whom it may
 ‘ concern may take Notice thereof.

Given at Whitehall the 22d of April, Anno 1659.

These confused Hints are all the *Journals* afford
 us relating to the Dissolution of this Parliament; a

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Catastrophe, which absolutely put an End to *Richard's* short-liv'd Empire, and greatly paved the Way for the ensuing Restoration of the Royal Family. A particular Inquisition, therefore, is very necessary, in this Place, into the Memorialists, Historians, and old Pamphlets of those Times, in order to clear up these obstruse Affairs, never yet thoroughly investigated.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

April.

To begin then: The Heats and Animosities between the two Houses were the principal Cause of this small Revolution; for had the House of Commons gone upon raising of Money, to satisfy the greedy Appetites of the Soldiery, instead of quarrelling with one another, and disputing the Legality of the Other House, the Army would never have rebelled against them, and, once more, turned them out of Doors. *Whitlocke* telle us, That it was *Hafilrigge* and *Nevile*, and their Party, who laboured to overthrow the Government by a Protector and two Houses of Parliament, and bring in, what they called, a free Commonwealth: That several Officers of the Army, particularly *Desborough*, *Fleetwood*, and *Lambert*, joined with them in this Work. He adds, That *Richard* advised with him, and others of his Privy Council, whether it was fit to dissolve this Parliament or not. Most of them were for it, but *Whitlocke* doubted the Success of it, and wished a little longer Permission to their Sitting; especially now they had begun to consider of raising Money, whereby they would soon engage the Soldiery, and link them fast to their Interest. But the Majority was for dissolving the Parliament, urging for it the present Dangers from the Cavaliers, who now flock'd to *London*, and, under-hand, fomented Divisions in the State: So that, by Commission under the Broad Seal to *Fiennes* and others, this Parliament was dissolved, and a Proclamation afterwards published to declare it; which caused, he says, much Trouble in the Minds of many honest Men; but the Cavaliers and Republicans rejoiced at it.

Thus speaks this very honest Man Mr. *Whitlocke*; and it is easy to see by it, That he dreaded any more
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Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

Convulsions in the State, lest the Government of it should be at last thrown on its old Hinges, and he lose the lucrative Posts he had so long enjoyed. But, now hear what his Antagonist, in Politics, though equally averse to the Royal Cause, says in this Matter.

Ludlow, after giving the Names of the principal Leaders of the three Parties, at this Time, as is already mentioned, proceeds to tell us, 'That the Differences between those Parties, being very great, were yet much increased by the following Accidents.

'Col. *Whalley*, whom *Richard* had lately made Commissary-General of the Horse, meeting with Col. *Ashfield* in *Westminster-Hall*, and discoursing with him concerning the Other House, about which their Sentiments were very different, the Commissary-General fell into such a Passion, that he threatened to strike the Colonel; who thereupon daring him to do it, *Whalley* chose rather to make his Complaint to Mr. *Richard Cromwell*. Col. *Ashfield* being summoned to appear, the pretended Protector threatened to cashier him as a Mutineer, for speaking in such a Manner to a General Officer of the Army. But the Colonel desiring a fair and equal Hearing by a Council of Officers, he was ordered to attend again. At the Time appointed it was contrived that Col. *Gough*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Howard*, Lieut. Col. *Goodrick*, and other Creatures of the Court should be present to decide the Matter in Dispute, who unanimously enjoined Col. *Ashfield* to acknowledge his Fault, and to ask the Commissary-General's Pardon for the same: But their Endeavours herein proved ineffectual, for the Colonel denying that he had offended the Commissary-General, refused to desire his Pardon. Another Thing happened about the same Time that proved very disadvantageous to the Interest of Mr. *Richard Cromwell*: For a certain inferior Officer having publicly murmured at the Advancement of some, that had been Cavaliers, to Commands in the Army,

he

he was carried to *Whitehall* to answer for the same. Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, besides other reproachful Language, asked him, in a deriding Manner, Whether he would have him prefer none but those that were godly? *Here*, continued he, *is Dick Ingoldsbey, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before you all.* Those imprudent, as well as irreligious Words, so clearly discovering the Frame and Temper of his Mind, were soon published in the Army and City of *London*, to his great Prejudice. And from this Time all Men among them, who made but the least Pretences to Religion and Sobriety, began to think themselves unsafe whilst he governed, and thereupon soon formed a Resolution to use their utmost Endeavours to divide the Military from the Civil Power, and to place the Command of the Army in Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*.

Our Memorialist goes on with a long Account of his own Transactions with the Army at *Wallingford-House*, not much to our Purpose, but it tended altogether to form a Party, on the old Republican Scheme, who were working *Richard's* Downfall. Then he proceeds, and says, 'In the mean Time Mr. *Cromwell* and his Party were exceedingly alarmed at these Proceedings; and, not daring to trust to their own Authority in this Matter, they contrived it so as to engage the Parliament in their Defence. Accordingly some Members of the Commons House charged the Council with mutinous Words there spoken against the Government, and against the Resolutions of the Parliament itself. This Accusation was so well seconded, that the House resolved to dissipate the Storm, and to that End passed a Vote, That the Officers of the Army should no more meet as a General Council. Yet for all this they met again at the Time appointed, in order to proceed in their Design: But the House having Notice of it, and being very desirous to enable Mr. *Cromwell* to make their Vote effectual, declared him to be General of their Army, authorizing him to disperse the Officers to their respective Charges; to remove from their Commands such as

Inter-regnum.
1659.

April.

should disobey, and to place others in the room of them. They also voted it to be High Treason in the Officers to meet in Council contrary to their Order, and promised to cause the Arrears of those that should yield Obedience, to be forthwith paid, with Assurances to take Care of them for the future. Mr. *Richard Cromwell* having Notice of these Votes, immediately went to the Place where the Council of Officers was assembled; and having informed them of what had passed, he told them that he expected their present Obedience. The Officers not being then prepared to dispute his Commands, withdrew themselves; but the chief of them continued their Meetings in a more private Manner, making use of all Means imaginable to oblige Mr. *Richard Cromwell* to a Compliance with them; but he relying on the Strength of his new Friends, refused to hearken to them; so that they perceived it to be high Time to provide for the Security of themselves. Information being given at Court that something extraordinary was in Agitation, the Protector *Richard* sent a Message to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to come to him; but the Messenger returned without an Answer. Then he ordered some of the Guard to be sent for him; but they desired to be excused. The Lieutenant-General having Notice of this Design, retired to St. *James's*, where many Officers of the Army resorting to him, it was concluded between them, that the whole Army should rendezvous at St. *James's*. The News of this Resolution being brought to Mr. *Cromwell*, he also appointed a Counter-Rendezvous to be at the same Time at *Whitehall*. Accordingly Col. *Gough* sent Orders for his Regiment to march to *Whitehall*; but the Major had already prevailed with them to draw to St. *James's*. Three Troops of Col. *Ingoldsby's* Horse marched also to St. *James's*, with part of two more; so that he had only one entire Troop of his Regiment to stand by him. Colonel *Whalley's* Regiment of Horse for the most part left him, and went off to St. *James's*; which he seeing, opened his Breast, and desired them to shoot him.

Col.

Col. *Hacker's* Regiment of Horse being drawn up near *Cheapside*, Mr. *Cromwell* sent a Message to the Colonel, with an Order to require him forthwith to march to *Whitehall*; but he excused himself, and said he had received Orders from Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* to keep that Post. Many also of *Richard's* own Guard went to St. *James's*, and most of those that staid with him, declared they would not oppose any that should come to them by Order from Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*. Thus here was a General without an Army, and divers great Officers without Soldiers; who, having boasted of their Interest in the Army, and having thereby led the House into their late rash Proceedings, now being utterly disappointed in their Hopes and Expectations, knew not what to advise, or what to do. About Noon Col. *Desborough* went to Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, at *Whitehall*, and told him that if he would dissolve his Parliament; the Officers would take Care of him; but that, if he refused so to do, they would do it without him, and leave him to shift for himself. Having taken a little Time to consider of it, and finding no other Way left to do better, he consented to what was demanded. This great Alteration was made with so little Noise, that very few were alarmed at it. The next Morning the House met, and divers Members made extravagant Motions, rather, as was supposed, to vent their own Passions, than from any Hopes of Success: For whatever were the Resolutions that had been made by the Court Junto, they could not suddenly be brought to a Vote, because the contrary Party was considerably increased by this Change of Affairs. Few of the House knew of the Resolution taken to put a Period to them, or, if they did, were unwilling to take Notice of it; so that when the Usher of the Black Rod, who attended the Other House, came to let the Serjeant at Arms know that it was the Pleasure of the Protector that the House of Commons should attend him at the Other House, many of them were unwilling to admit the Serjeant into the House to deliver the Message; but the Com-

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

monwealth Party demanded, and obtained, that he should give the House an Account of what the Gentleman of the Black Rod had said to him. The Assembly being under this Confusion, adjourned themselves till Eight o'Clock the next Morning; but Care was taken to prevent their meeting again, by publishing a Proclamation, declaring them to be dissolved, by setting a Padlock on the Door of the House, and by placing a Guard in the Court of Requests, with Orders to refuse Admittance to all those that should demand it.

Amongst the many Pamphlets, printed and published in these Times, and are in our Collection, two of them give succinct and clear Accounts of these Proceedings. The one of them called *A true and impartial Narrative*, is before quoted; and we beg Leave to add another Quotation from the same Authority.

‘ On the 22d of *April* the Black Rod came to the Door to have Entrance. The Serjeant, who should have done no more than acquainted the House that such a Messenger was at the Door, acquainted them with his Message, viz. That, by Order of the Protector, the Speaker of the Other House sent to the House of Commons to come with their Speaker to them in the Other House; which the House received generally with great Indignation and Scorn, some saying, They were the Upper House; and so, without receiving the Messenger, the House adjourned till *Monday* the 25th of *April*: But the next Day the pretended Protector dissolved the pretended Parliament by a Proclamation.’

The other-old Pamphlet is called *England's Confusion*, &c. and, though not so tedious as the former Account, is as circumstantial in the Matter to the full.

‘ Whilst the House spent the rest of their Time in considering how to provide Money, without laying new Burdens on the People, great Contests
grew

grew between the Protector and the opposite Officers of the Army, both Sides keeping Guards Night and Day against one another, the Protector having, in pursuance of the Votes of the House, forbidden the Meetings of the Officers.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

‘ In this divided Posture, Affairs continued until Friday the 22d of April; on which Morning early Fleetwood the Protector’s Brother, Desborough his Uncle, and the rest of the mutinous Officers, carrying the greater Part of the Army after them, and the Protector’s Party flinching, the Conquest was made without one Drop of Blood, (which, says our Authority, was strange in so ancient, hereditary, just, and undoubted a Title) and the Protector forced to consent to a Commission and Proclamation ready prepared, giving Desborough and others Power to dissolve the Parliament, contrary to the best Advice, and his own Interest and Promise. And accordingly, the same Day, the Black Rod was sent twice to the House of Commons (from Fiennes, Speaker of the Other House) for them to come thither; but they admitted him not in, and much scorned the Motion, having ever looked upon that Mushroom House as the Lower House and their own Creature, the Language being to send down to the Other House, when they sent the Declaration for a Fast for a Trial of transacting with them: And therefore, understanding there were Guards of Horse and Foot in the Palace-Yard, after some Motions made by Mr. Knightly, Sir Arthur Haslebrigg and others, wherein Sir Arthur exceeded, That the House should first declare it Treason for any Persons whatsoever to put Force upon any Members of the House; and, next, That all Votes, Acts, and Resolutions, passed by any Members of Parliament, when the rest were detained from, or taken out of, the House by Force, should be null and void; and other Motions becoming Englishmen to that End; judging themselves under a Force, and finding they were very unanimous, though near 400 in the House, in the Things proposed, they resolved on no Question; but adjourned till Monday Morning the 25th of April, and attended the Speaker, in

Inter-regnum.
1659.

April.

Order, thorough *Westminster-Hall* to his Coach, in the Face of the Soldiery.'

To close up all we can give relating to this strange and sudden Revolution, take what follows from the Memoirs of the Life and Death of *Roger Boyle*, Lord *Broughill*, afterwards created first Earl of *Orrery* (a).

' *Richard Cromwell* succeeded his Father for some Time, and called a Parliament. While the Parliament was sitting, he likewise gave a Commission to *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, to hold a Council of War at *Wallingford-House*, to which Lord *Broughill* received a Summons to come, as being a General Officer in the *Irish Army*. He had no sooner received the Summons, than his Lordship went to *Richard Cromwell*, to know whether he had consented to call a Council of War. *Cromwell* told him he had. My Lord replied, He feared he would repent it. *Cromwell* asked, Why? Because they would certainly work some Mischief against him and his Friends; but as yet he knew not what it was. *Cromwell* then desired his Lordship to do what he could to prevent it. My Lord replied, He would go amongst them, and see what might be done.

' The Day of the Council of War being come, they all repair'd to *Wallingford-House*, where were above five hundred Officers; and, after a long Prayer, (I think made by *Dr. Owen*) Col. *Desborough* stood up, just over-against Lord *Broughill*, (who, with the other General Officers, sat at a Table by themselves) and made a Speech of an Hour long; representing how gracious the Lord had been to them, and how prosperous their Arms had been; which Prosperity he feared would not continue, because there were, since their Peace and Quietness, several Sons of *Belial* crept in amongst them, for whose Sakes there would be great Judgments upon

(a) Wrote by the Rev. Mr. *Morrice*, his Lordship's Chaplain, and afterwards published in a Collection of State Letters, &c. p. 27. London, Fol. 1742.

Inter-regnum.
1659.
April.

the Army: And therefore he thought it would be convenient some effectual Means should be made use of, to purge the Army of them; and the Means that he proposed was a Test, which every Person in the Army should take; and they who refused should be turned out. The Test was this, 'That every one should swear, they did believe, in their Consciences, that the putting to Death the late King, *Charles Stuart*, was lawful and just.' This was the main Design of his Speech; which when he had ended, he sat down, and a great many cried out, *Well moved!* Lord *Broghill*, who was not to be surpris'd on this or any other Occasion, as soon as *Desborough* had done, stood up and declared, he must oppose all Tests put upon the Army, both as a Thing that would enslave them, and as a Thing they had positively declared against; for if they once put Tests upon themselves, others would quickly impose Tests upon them, and they would be obliged to act against their own Liberty of Conscience, which they had so much fought and pleaded for: But he was against the Test in particular that was then proposed, because it was unjust and unreasonable, to require Men to swear to the Lawfulness of an Action, at the doing of which they were not present; for many, besides himself, were not present when the late King was tried and put to Death; and how could they swear to the Justice or Lawfulness of that which they did not, nor could not, know? But if they would have a Test to purge the Army, he thought he had as good a Right to propose one as another; and therefore he offered one more reasonable and lawful, which was, 'That all should be turned out of the Army, who would not swear to defend the Government, as it is now established under the Protector and Parliament.' This was reasonable and lawful, because it was to maintain the present Government. In fine, he declared, he was against all Tests, and for the Continuance of the Liberty of the Army: But if they would be for a Test, he was for that which he had

Inter-regnum.
1659.

April.

now offered; and if they would not pass it in that Council, but rather have the other, then he would move it the next Day in Parliament, of which he was a Member, and there he was confident it would pass. Upon this all cried, *Well moved!* And while they were in some Kind of Murmur upon the Motion, my Lord, having *Goffe* on the one Side of him, and Major *Whalley* on the other, first whisper'd one in the Ear, and then the other, knowing they were both of a hot Temper, and easily moved; and did his Business so effectually with them, that they both spoke successively against *Desborough's* Test, and declared for Lord *Broughill's*. Upon which *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and others of the Gang, went to consult by themselves what was best to be done; and, after a little Consultation, came again and told Lord *Broughill*, they had considered what his Lordship had said, and had not seen the ill Consequences of imposing Tests on the Army, till he had hinted them, but were now convinced; therefore they would not put it to the Vote which of the two should pass, but desired both might be withdrawn; which, with some Reluctance, Lord *Broughill* consented to.

His Lordship soon after gave *Richard Cromwell* an Account of all that passed, at which he was overjoyed. My Lord then told *Cromwell*, That certainly the Council of War would do Mischief, if it sat any longer, and therefore advised him forthwith to dissolve it. *Cromwell* asked how he might. My Lord told him, if he pleased he would draw up a short Speech for him, which he should the next Morning speak to them: This *Cromwell* promised he would do. My Lord then drew up a Speech for him to this Effect: That he accepted their Service with all Thankfulness; that he had considered what did most aggrieve them; and that he thought the best and properest Way to redress what was amiss among them, was to do it in the Parliament then sitting, of which most of them were Members; and therefore declared his Commission of holding that Council null and void, and desired them all to go

to

to their several Commands. This Speech my Lord gave to *Cromwell* that Night, who conn'd it over, and had his Lesson perfect the next Day; and accordingly, by Ten of the Clock, came to *Wallingford-House*, and sat in a Chair of State among them, which pleased some and troubled others; and within an Hour he rose up, and delivered his Speech; which, though it was very mild, yet gave great Distaste to *Fleetwood* and his Party. But it seems they guessed who was the Author of their Dissolution; and therefore, about three Days after, *Fleetwood* and the General of the Army, with *Desborough* and the rest of the Gang, came in a Body into the Parliament, and, in the Name of the Army, complained how much they had been abused and affronted by a certain Lord in that Assembly, (looking stedfastly upon Lord *Broughill*) desiring that they might have Satisfaction; requesting that an Address might be made to his Highness the Lord Protector, intreating him to declare who it was that advised him to dissolve the Council of War, during the Sitting of the Parliament, without the Parliament's Knowledge or Consent. All then began to look upon my Lord as the Party concerned, and some beckoned to him to be gone; but he sat still to let the Murmur be over; and at last rose up, and moved that, at the same Time when this Address was made, another also might be presented, to know who advised the calling a Council of War, without the Knowledge or Consent of Parliament: For if he be guilty, who advised the Dissolution of the Council without the Parliament's Consent, he must be much more guilty, who advised the calling of that Council without it. At this Motion they all cried, *Well moved!* and *Fleetwood* with the others went their way.

' Lord *Broughill* finding the Army were resolved to ruin *Richard Cromwell*, his Lordship advised *Cromwell* to cast himself upon the City, and declare for the King and a free Parliament; assuring him he would find the City favour him that Way, and by it he would make his Family for ever: But

The Parliamentary HISTORY

Cromwell would not comply with this Advice; so went on his own Way, till the Army deposed him, and set up for themselves.

These Accounts from various Writers, we hope, will satisfy our Readers as to the main Circumstances relative to the Dissolution of the last Meeting. We now proceed to shew how *Richard* steered his Course without them; and we find that he and his Council sat close to Business for some Time, to consult what was fit to be done: Though even amongst those of his own Council, Mr. *Whitlocke* assures us, he had many Enemies both to himself and Government. Deserted and forsaken thus by both his Friends and Relations, what could poor *Richard* do to extricate himself from these Difficulties, and maintain his Sovereignty? No, he was entirely laid aside, though his Enemies were so kind to him as not to call him to Account for his ill Government; but probably this Mercy proceeded more from the despicable Opinion they had of his Abilities, than from any Mildness or Compassion to him.

Richard, 'tis confidently said, lived many Years after this in a private Station, both at home and abroad, and reached so advanced an Age as only to make his Exit in the Reign of the late Queen *Anne*. But some further Notice is taken of him in the Sequel.

And now, as we have said, the Army having once more made themselves Masters of the whole Kingdom, it was expected that another *Oliver* would have started from amongst them, and have govern'd these Nations by Court-Martials and Major-Generals, as formerly. But no single Person could be found equal to this Work; and therefore the Republican Party persuaded the General Officers to join with them and recall the Members of the old Parliament, whom they themselves had forcibly turned out in the Year 1653. Mr. *Whitlocke* tells us, That the Officers were advised to consider better of this Design; for that those Members were much discontented at their Proceedings under *Cromwell*,

well, and whether this Step would not probably create more Divisions, and end in bringing in the King.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

April.

But this Advice would not prevail; the Officers were resolute to join with the Republican Party, in restoring the Long Parliament and another Council of State to their Rule and Governance, without a Single Person. How this Affair was brought about, the following Quotations and Abstracts from the fore-cited Authors and Papers will best shew:

Ludlow tells us, ' That before the Coalition was entirely perfected between the principal Officers of the Army and his Associates, they had a Meeting at Sir *Henry Vane's* House, at *Charing-Cross*; the Persons of and from the Army were Major-General *Lambert*. Colonels *John Jones*, *Kelsey*, *Berry*, &c. Those of the Parliament were Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, Major *Salway*, and himself. The Things demanded by those of the Army were,

1. ' To be secured by an Act of Indemnity for what was past.

2. ' That some Provision of Power might be made for Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, as well as for the Payment of his Debts, and future Subsistence in a plentiful Manner, they having promised to take Care of him in these Particulars.

3. ' That what should stand in Need of Regulation, both in the Law and Clergy, should be reformed and amended.

4. ' That the Government of the Nation should be by a Representative of the People, and by a select Senate.

' For the *first*, it was thought reasonable that something of that Nature should be done, as well to gratify those who should contribute to our Return, as for our own future Peace and Quiet.

' Touching the *second* Proposition, concerning a Provision to be made for Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, we said, that though the Parliament and Nation had been greatly injured by the Interruption they had received, yet seeing those that were at present in Possession of the Power had engaged to make some Provision

The Parliamentary HISTORY

Provision for him, we were contented, for ourselves, that those Debts which he had contracted on the Public Account should be paid, that so he might be enabled to subsist comfortably: But that we could by no Means consent to continue any Part of his late-assumed Power to him; neither could we believe that such a Proposition would ever be hearkened to by the Members of the Parliament, if they should come together.

‘The *third* Proposition was easily agreed to, all of us declaring that we would use the utmost of our Endeavours to rectify and reform whatsoever should appear to be amiss either in Church or State.

‘In the *fourth* Proposition we found a greater Difficulty, not being all of the same Opinion with respect to that Part of it relating to the Senate. Whereupon finding that, out of a Desire to avoid any thing that might prove an Obstruction to the Return of the Parliament, or possibly from an Inclination in some to the Thing itself, there was an Intention, by a general Silence about that Matter, to give them Hopes of our Compliance; therefore, that they might have no just Occasion to say hereafter that we had dealt doubly with them, keeping fair in that Particular before our Admission, and after we were admitted declaring against it, I thought it my Duty to let them know, that if, by a select Senate, they understood a lasting Power, co-ordinate with the Authority of the People’s Representative, and not chosen by the People, I could not engage to promote the Establishment of such a Power, apprehending that it would prove a Means to perpetuate our Differences, and make it necessary to keep up a standing Force to support it: But if they proposed to erect such an Authority only for a short Time, and in order to proceed with more Vigour to an equal and just Establishment of the Commonwealth, I presumed it might be very useful, and that the People would readily acquiesce, when it should be evident that it was designed to no other End than to prevent them from destroying themselves, and not to enslave them to any Faction or Party.

Party. After four or five Hours Debate concerning these Particulars, we desired them to consider, that whatsoever had been said by us in this Conference, ought only to be taken as proceeding from private Men, and that we durst not presume to promise any thing on the Part of the Parliament: However, we encouraged them to hope that, if we four joined in proposing any thing in the House for the Public Good, we might probably bring it to Effect.

‘ At the Conclusion of our Conversation, Major-General *Lambert* assured us, that he would represent to the General Council what had passed between us as fairly, and with as much Advantage, as we could desire.

‘ After three or four Days the same Company met again at the same Place, where those that were employed by the Council of Officers declared the Resolution of themselves, and of those they represented, to be, That the Parliament should be restored; and thereupon pressed us that the Members might meet with all possible Expedition, being persuaded that Delays, in a Matter of such Importance, might hazard the Success of all: Therefore it was resolved that Notice should be given to such Members as were in Town to meet, on the *Thursday* following, at Mr. *Leinball* their Speaker’s House, and that the Officers of the Army should come thither, and there acquaint us with the Desires of the Army.

‘ At the Time appointed about sixteen of us went to the Speaker’s House, and having informed him of the Cause of our coming, he began to make many trifling Excuses, pleading his Age, Sicknes, and Inability to sit long. Soon after the Committee from the General Council came, and Major-General *Lambert*, in the Name of the rest, acquainted the Speaker, That, in order to reconcile our Differences, and to unite all those that were well affected to the Public, it was the Desire of the Army that the Parliament would return to the Discharge of their Duty, according to the Trust reposed in them by the People of *England*; promising to stand by them, and

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

and serve them to the utmost of their Power. The Speaker had been lately at Court; where they had prevailed with him to endeavour to render this Design, which they feared above all Things, ineffectual; and, on the other Hand, being unwilling to lose his late-acquired Peerage, renewed his former Excuses; with this Addition, that he was not fully satisfied that the Death of the late King had not put an End to the Parliament. To this it was answered, ' That, by a Law made by an undisputed Authority, the Parliament could not be dissolved without their own Consent, which had never yet been given: And therefore they desired him, as he valued the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, to send his Letters to such Members as were about the Town, requiring them to meet the next Morning in the House of Lords, in order to resume their Places in the House of Commons, so soon as they might make up a *Quorum*. He replied, That he could by no Means do as we desired, having appointed a Business of far greater Importance to himself, which he would not omit on any Account, because it concerned the Salvation of his Soul. We then pressed him to inform us what it might be: To which he answered, That he was preparing himself to participate of the Lord's Supper, which he resolved to take on the next *Lord's Day*. Upon this it was replied, That Mercy is more acceptable to God than Sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for the foresaid Duty, than by contributing to the Public Good. But he resolving to perform some Part of his Promise to Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, would not be persuaded to send Letters to the Members, as it was desired: So that we found ourselves obliged to tell him, That the Service of the Public had been too long obstructed by the Will of single Persons; and that, if he refused to issue out his Letters to the Members, we would cause it to be done by other Means: And thereupon gave Orders to such Clerks as we then had there ready for that Purpose, to draw Directions for the Messengers who were to summon the Members, and to divide

divide the Lift amongst them, in such a Manner as might best provide for the Expedition of the Busines.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

April.

' In the Morning about thirty Members being come, and the Number increasing continually, the Speaker, who had appointed Spies to bring him Word whether we might probably make up a House or not, being informed that we wanted not above three or four, notwithstanding the Salvation of his Soul, thought it Time to come to us, and soon after the requisite Number was compleated.

' About Twelve o'Clock we went to take our Places in the House, Mr. *Lentball*, our Speaker, leading the Way, and the Officers of the Army lining the Rooms for us as we passed through the Painted-Chamber, the Court of Requests, and the Lobby itself, the principal Officers having placed themselves nearest to the Door of the Parliament-House, every one seeming to rejoice at our Restitution, and promising to live and die with us.'

But this last Author does not acquaint us, that, the Day before the old Members went to take their Places in the House, the following Declaration was published, called

A DECLARATION of the OFFICERS of the ARMY, inviting the Members of the Long Parliament, who continued sitting till the 20th of April, 1653, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust (g).

' THE public Concernments of this Commonwealth being, thro' a Vicissitude of Dangers, Deliverances, and Backslidings of many, brought into that State and Posture wherein they now stand; and ourselves also contributing thereunto, by wandering divers Ways from righteous and equal Paths; and although there hath been many Essays to obviate the Dangers, and to settle these Nations in Peace and Prosperity, yet all have proved ineffectual; the only wise God, in the

The Army's Declaration.

(g) *London*, printed by *Henry Hills*, for him and *William Mountford*, 1659.

' Course

Inter-regnum.
1659.

April.

Course of his Providence, disappointing all Endeavours therein:

And also observing, to our great Grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appeared amongst us, in the carrying on of this great Work, did daily decline, so as the good old Cause itself became a Reproach; we have been led to look back, and examine the Cause of the Lord's withdrawing his wonted Presence from us, and where we turned out of the Way, that, thro' Mercy, we might return and give him the Glory.

And amongst other Things, calling to Mind, that the Long Parliament, consisting of the Members which continued there sitting untill the 20th of April, 1653, were eminent Asserters of that Cause, and had a special Presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that Work, (the Desires of many good People concurring with ours therein) we judged it our Duty to invite the aforesaid Members to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, as before the said 20th of April, 1653.

And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued to sit since the Year 1648, until the 20th of April, 1653, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, and we shall be ready, in our Places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmost Assistance to sit in Safety; for the improving the present Opportunity for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of this Commonwealth; praying for the Presence and Blessing of God upon their Endeavours.

Signed, by Direction of the Lord Fleetwood and the Council of Officers of the Army.

May 6, 1659.

THO. SANDFORD, Sec.

Which Declaration was this Day presented to the Speaker by

Lord Lambert,
Lord Berry,

Lord Cooper,
Sir Arthur Haselrigge,

Major-

Major-General <i>Lilburne</i> ,	Major-General <i>Haynes</i> ,
Colonel <i>Ashfield</i> ,	Lieutenant-Colonel <i>Allen</i> ,
Colonel <i>Salmon</i> ,	
Sir <i>Jeremy Sankey</i> ,	Major <i>Packer</i> ,
Major-General <i>Kelsey</i> ,	Lieutenant-Colonel <i>Pier-</i>
Colonel <i>Okey</i> ,	<i>son</i> .
Captain <i>Blackwell</i> ,	

Inter-regnum.
1659.
May.

We have yet another old Pamphleteer to consult, the Writer of *England's Confusion*, &c. as before quoted. This Writer has drawn up, in a very humorous Way, a brief Account of these extraordinary Proceedings; and, in as extraordinary a Manner, has left us the following Detail of them (b):

'After the Officers had new modelled themselves, cashiering *Whalley*, *Ingoldsby*, *Goffe*, and divers others of the Protector's Party, and restoring *Lambert*, *Hafilrigge*, *Okey*, and others, displaced by Protector *Oliver*, and played with the Government for a few Days, and grew weary of it, the inferior Officers and the Pamphlets, (that now flew about daily without Control) carrying Things beyond the Intention of the Chief Officers, who would have left the Protector a Duke of *Venice*, (for his Father's Sake who raised them, and their Relation to him, which they had forgotten till now) they sent to some of their old Hackney Drudges of the Long Parliament, then in *London*, who they knew would do any thing, so they might be suffered to sit, and on the 5th and 6th Days of *May* had Conference with them; the last of which was at their never-failing Speaker's, the Master of the Rolls House, in *Chancery-Lane*; where both Officers, viz. *Lambert*, who had already gotten his old Place, and others with him, and Members, viz. Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hafilrigge*, *Ludlow*, *John Jones*, Mr. *Chaloner*, Mr. *Scott*, and others, to the Number of twenty, solicited *William Lenthall*, Esq; to sit Speaker again; but he objected Scruples in Judgment

VOL. XXI.

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(b) This Pamphlet has for its Title, *England's Confusion; or A true and impartial Account of the late Traverses of State in England, with the Counsels leading thereunto. Together with a Description of the present Power ruling there, by the Name of Parliament, under the Mask of the Good old Cause.* Lond. 1659, 4to. p. 24.

Major-

The Parliamentary HISTORY

ment and Conscience, which are not yet answered, nor never will. Nevertheless, fifteen Articles between the Officers and some of the Members (who, it seems, over-confidently undertook for the rest) being first agreed on at some of their Meetings, they resolved to meet in the House on *Saturday* the 7th of *May*; yet, that they might do it by Surprise, they gave out that they would not sit till *Tuesday* the 10th of *May*: But the Itch of Ambition and Lording it over the People giving them no Quiet, on *Saturday* the 7th of *May*, early, they met in the *Painted-Chamber* at *Westminster*; and, to make up their Number, sent for the two chaste Cock-Sparrows, Lord *Monson* and Mr. *Henry Martin*, out of Prison, where they were in Execution for Debt, and honest *Whitlocke* and *Lisle* of the Chancery Bench; and with this Addition, being forty-two in Number, the Chancery-Mace, for Haste, being carried before them,

William Lenthall, Esq; their tender-conscienced Speaker, together with the said Lord *Monson*,

Henry Martin,

Mr. Whitlocke,

Mr. Lisle,

Temperate *Mr. Chaloner*,

Wise Alderman *Atkin*,

Rich Alderman *Pennington*,

Pedantic *Thomas Scott*,

Hastily-rich *Cornelius Holland*,

• Single-hearted preaching Sir *Henry Vane*, now become Old *Sir Harry*,

Prideaux, Attorney-General to all Governments,

Smiling Sir *James Harrington*,

Levelling *Ludlow*,

Pembrochian Oldsworth, that made the Earl his Master's wise Speeches,

Vain-glorious hair-brained *Hafilrigge*, with Repentance like the Armies in his Conscience, and the Bishoprick of *Durham* at his Back,

Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Man *Jones*,

Doting *Puresfoy*, with Purity or Faith,

Religious *Harry Nevill*.

of ENGLAND.

371

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

Col. *White*, the Lord *Fairfax's* Secretary, got before his Master,

Mr. *Say*, the famous Lawyer,

Mr. *Blagrove*, better known at *Reading* than here,

Col. *Bennett*, Sir *Henry Vane's* little Second at Preaching,

Mr. *Brewster*, a Cypher to make up the Number,

Serjeant *Wylde*, best known by the Name of the

Wild Serjeant,

John Goodwin, alias *Herb John*,

Mr. *Lechmere*, the Attorney-General's Second at all Governments,

Augustin Skinner, a *Kentish* Christian,

Mr. *Downes*, another Cypher,

Mr. *Dove*, a Brewer of *Salisbury*, come to help in this new Brewing,

Mr. *John Lenthall*, *William Lenthall's* own Son,

Salway, a smart prating Apprentice, newly set up for himself,

Mr. *John Corbet*, such another Lawyer as *Miles*, and of his own Colour,

Mr. *Walton*, that will never forget his Son furnished Blacks for the Protector's Funeral,

Gilbert Millington, the Church Snuffers, who desires no better Trade than scandalous Ministers,

Mr. *Gould*, newly married to get more, the Commonwealth being poor,

Colonels *Sydenham* and *Bingham*, a *Dorsetshire* Couple, in at all Governments, who had rather talk than fight, and yet will venture to do any thing, being backed with an Army, against the naked People,

Col. *Ayre*, whose Name fills his Head,

Mr. *Smith*, a Six-Clerk, that wishes he could write and read,

Col. *Ingoldby*, that fought so well lately for the Protector against *Fleetwood*, and

Fleetwood, that holy Man, who so smoothly supplanted the Protector, that he persuaded him three Crowns were not worthy a drawn Sword, stole on a Sudden into the House, the Invitation of

Inter-regnum.
1659.
May.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

the Army for the sitting of the Long Parliament, as they call it, being first published in *Westminster-Hall.*

To conclude this whole Affair, and begin with the Proceedings of this Tail of a Parliament, we shall only subjoin what the voluminous Mr. Prynne has left us at the End of one of the many Pamphlets he published about this Time (c), and is an Alphabetical List, &c. By comparing which with the former Parliamentary Lists, the Reader may, with very little Trouble, find who was thought proper to be kept in, and who shut out, at this Crisis.

An exact ALPHABETICAL LIST of all the old and new SECLUDED MEMBERS of the Commons House in the Long Parliament, surviving May 7, 1659, when the dissolved Juncto began their new Session.

Baronets, Knights, and Viscounts.

A List of the
Members of the
Long Parlia-
ment, surviving
in 1659.

L ORD Ancram,	Sir John Evelin of Surry,
Sir Ralph Ashton,	Sir John Evelin of Wilts,
Sir John Barrington,	Sir John Fenwick,
Sir Thomas Barnardiston,	Sir Edmund Fowel,
Sir Robert Benloes,	Sir Gilbert Gerard,
Sir George Booth,	Sir Harbottle Grimston,
Sir Humphry Bridges,	Sir Richard Haughton,
Sir Ambrose Brown,	Sir John Holland,
Sir John Burgoin,	Sir Anthony Irby,
Sir Roger Burgoin,	Sir Martin Knatchbull,
Sir Henry Cholmley,	Sir John Leigh,
Sir John Clotworthy,	Sir William Lewis,
Sir John Corbet,	Sir William Lister,
Sir John Curzon,	Sir William Litton,
Sir Thomas Dacres,	Sir Samuel Luke,
Sir Francis Drake,	Sir Nicholas Martin,
Sir William Drake,	Sir Thomas Middleton,
Sir Walter Erle,	Sir Robert Napier,
Sir Charles Egerton,	Sir Robert Nedham,

Sir

(c) This Pamphlet is in Quarto of 48 Pages, Lond. 1659, and is intituled, *Conscientious, Serious, Theological, and Legal Queries, propounded to the twice-dissipated, self-created Anti-Parliamentary Westminster Juncto, &c. &c. &c.* for he always fills his Title Pages from Top to Bottom, and ends with divers Quotations from Scripture.

of ENGLAND.

373

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

Sir *Dudley North*,
Sir *John Northcot*,
Sir *Richard Onslow*,
Sir *Hugh Owen*,
Sir *John Patgrave*,
Sir *Philip Parker*,
Sir *Thomas Parker*,
Sir *Edward Partridge*,
Sir *John Pelham*,
Sir *William Platers*,
Sir *Nevil Poole*,
Sir *John Potts*,
Sir *Robert Pye*,

Sir *Francis Russel*,
Sir *Beauchamp St. John*,
Sir *John Seymore*,
Sir *Thomas Soame*,
Sir *William Strickland*,
Sir *John Temple*,
Sir *Thomas Trevor*,
Sir *Humphry Tuston*,
Sir *William Waller*,
Thomas Visc. Wenman,
Sir *Henry Worsley*,
Sir *Richard Wynne*,
Sir *John Young*.

In all 64

Esquires, Gentlemen, and Lawyers.

John Alford,
Arthur Annesley,
Mr. Andrews,
William Ardington,
John Arundel,
Mr. Ascough,
Francis Bacon,
Nathanael Bacon,
Edward Bainton,
Col. John Barker,
Maurice Barrow,
Mr. Bell,
James Bence,
Col. John Birch,
Edward Bish,
John Bowyer,
John Boyes,
Major Brooks,
Major-General Brown,
Samuel Brown, Serjeant
at Law,
Francis Buller,
John Bunkley,
Hugh Boscawen,
Mr. Button,
Mr. Campbell,

William Carrent,
Col. Ceely,
James Chaloner,
Mr. Clive,
Commissary Copley,
John Crewe,
Thomas Crompton,
Mr. Crowder,
Thomas Dacre,
John Dormer,
John Doyle,
Mr. Drake,
Robert Ellison,
Mr. Erisy,
Mr. Evilin,
Edward Fowel,
William Foxwist,
John Francis,
James Fiennes,
Nathanael Fiennes,
Samuel Gardner,
Francis Gerard,
Thomas Gewen,
William Glanville,
John Glyn, Serjeant at
Law,

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Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

Samuel Gott,
 Thomas Grove,
 Elias Grymes,
 Brampton Gordon,
 Edward Harby,
 Col. Edward Harley,
 Major Harley,
 John Hatcher,
 John Haydon,
 James Herbert,
 John Herbert,
 Mr. Hobby,
 Thomas Hodges,
 Denzil Holles,
 Francis Holles,
 George Horner,
 Edmund Hostins,
 John Hungerford,
 Col. Hunt,
 Mr. Jennings,
 William Jones,
 George Keckwich,
 Richard Knightly,
 Col. Lascelles,
 Henry Lawrence,
 Col. Lee,
 Mr. Lewis,
 Col. Walter Long,
 Mr. Lowry,
 Col. John Loyd,
 Mr. Lucas,
 Mr. Luckin,
 John Maynard,
 Christopher Martin,
 Major-General Edward
 Massey,
 Thomas Middleton,
 Thomas Moore,
 William Morrice,
 George Montague,
 Mr. Nash,
 James Nelthorpe,

Alderman Nixon,
 Mr. North,
 Col. Norton,
 Mr. Onslow,
 Arthur Owen,
 Henry Oxinden,
 Mr. Packer,
 Mr. Peck,
 Henry Pelham,
 William Pierrepont,
 Fervase Piggot,
 Mr. Potter,
 Mr. Poole,
 Col. Alexander Popham,
 Mr. Povy,
 Mr. Pristly,
 William Pryme,
 Alexander Pymme,
 Charles Pymme,
 Mr. Rainscraft,
 Mr. Ratcliffe,
 Charles Rich,
 Col. Edward Rossiter,
 Mr. Scowen,
 Mr. Scutt,
 Col. Robert Shapcot,
 Col. Shuttleworth,
 Mr. Spelman,
 Mr. Springats,
 Henry Stapleton,
 Robert Stanton,
 Edward Stephens,
 John Stephens,
 Nathanael Stephens,
 Mr. Stockfield,
 John Swinfen,
 Mr. Temple,
 Mr. Terwit,
 Mr. Thistlethwaite,
 Mr. Thomas,
 Isaac Thomas,
 Mr. Thyrne,

Mr.

of ENGLAND.

375

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

Mr. Tolson,
John Trevor,
Thomas Twisden, Ser-
jeant at Law,
Mr. Vassal,
Mr. Vaughan,
Thomas Waller,
Mr. West,
Henry Weston,

William Wheeler,
Col. Whitehead,
Henry Wilkes,
Capt. Wingate,
Mr. Winwood,
Thomas Wogan,
Mr. Wray,
Richard Wynne.

The Total Number, 213; besides the House
of Lords.

An ALPHABETICAL LIST of all the MEMBERS of
the late dissolved Juncto.

James Ash,
Alderman Atkins,
William Ayre,
Mr. Baker,
Col. Bennet,
Col. Bingham,
Daniel Blagrove,
Mr. Brewster,
William Cawly,
Thomas Chaloner,
Mr. Cecil, the Self-degra-
ded Earl of Salisbury,
Robert Cecil, his Son,
John Corbet,
Henry Darley,
Richard Darley,
Mr. Dixwell,
John Dove,
Mr. Downes,
William Ellis,
Mr. Fielder,
Mr. Fell,
Col. Charles Fleetwood,
Augustin Garland,
Mr. Gould,
John Goodwin,
Robert Goodwin,

John Gurdon,
Mr. Hallows,
Sir James Harrington,
Col. Harvy,
Sir Arthur Haslrigge,
Mr. Hayes,
Mr. Herbert, the self-
degraded Earl of Pem-
broke,
Roger Hill,
Cornelius Holland,
Col. Hutchinson,
Col. Ingoldsby,
Philip Jones,
Mr. Leachmere,
Will. Lenthall, Speaker,
John Lenthall, his Son,
John Lisle,
Philip Viscount Lisle,
Thomas Lister,
Nicholas Love,
Col. Ludlow,
Henry Martin, a Prisoner
in Execution,
Mr. Mayne,
Sir Henry Mildmay,
Gilbert Millington,

The Names of
those allowed to
sit.

Mr.

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Col.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

Col. Herbert Morley,	Augustin Skinner,
Lord Viscount Monson, a	Mr. Smith,
Prisoner in Execution,	Walter Strickland,
Henry Nevil,	Col. Sydenham,
Robert Nicholas,	James Temple,
Michael Oldsworth,	Col. Temple,
Mr. Palmer,	Col. Thompson,
Alderman Pennington,	Serjeant Thorpe,
Sir Gilbert Pickering,	John Trencher,
John Pine,	Sir John Trevor,
Edmund Prideaux,	Sir Henry Vane,
William Purefoy,	Mr. Wallop,
Thomas Pury,	Sir Thomas Walsingham,
Robert Reynolds,	Col. Walton,
Col. Rich,	Sir Peter Wentworth,
Luke Robinson,	Edmund Weaver,
Oliver St. John.	Mr. White,
Major Salway,	Serjeant Wilde,
Mr. Say,	Sir Thomas Witherington,
Thomas Scott,	Sir Thomas Wroth.
Major-General Skippon,	

The total Number, 91.

To the foregoing *Prynne* adds, 'That, of these Members, there entered only forty-two into the House at first; that the rest came in to them by Degrees, either to keep their old Preferments, gain new, or regain the Places they had formerly lost, especially the Lawyers; who, notwithstanding their former Compliances, were turn'd quite out of Office, and dis-judged: That eight, or more of them, came in by new Writs, issued in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, after the King's Beheading, and were no Members of the Long Parliament: That there were never sixty of them together in the House at once whilst they sat, and but fifty-seven on the 11th and 12th of *October* last, upon the great Debate between them and the Army Officers: And some that sat formerly with them, as the Lord *Fairfax*, *John Cary*, and others, refused to sit with them now, as having not the least Colour of Law.

Law to sit or act as a Parliament. Yea, their Speaker, Mr. *Lenthall*, told the Officers of the Army and Members, who came to invite him to sit again, May 6, That he had a Soul to save; and that he was not satisfied, in Point of Law, Conscience, or Prudence, that they could sit again: But at last, when he considered he had an Estate to save, as he told another Friend, that over-balanced all his former Objections; and made him and other Members act against their Judgments and Consciences, and to forget our Saviour's sad Queries, Mat. xvi. 26. *What is a Man profited if he should gain the whole World and lose his own Soul? Or, What shall a Man give in Exchange for his Soul?*

Inter-regnum.
1659.
May.

May 7. The Journals of this House of Commons now begin without any Preamble, and without any Notice taken of the last Breaking-up; and, after appointing *Henry Middleton*, Esq; their Sergeant at Arms, and *John Phelpes*, Esq; their Clerk of Parliament, the Speaker acquainted the House, 'That the Lord *Lambert*, with divers Officers of the Army, in the Name of the Lord *Fleetwood*, and Council of Officers, upon the 6th of May, 1659, came unto him, many of the Members being then present, and delivered unto him a Declaration, which was then read in the Presence of the said Members: The said Declaration the Speaker now tendered; which was read, and is the same as before given (a).

After this a Committee of five Members, Major *Salway*, Commissioner *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary *Martin*, and Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, were ordered to prepare a Declaration, to the present Purpose, upon the former from the Army. Likewise another Committee of twelve, *Scott*, *Hasilrigge*, Commissioner *Liste*, *Ludlow*, *Lechmere*, *Holland*, *Vane*, *Martin*, the Attorney General, *Harrington*, *Weston*,

(a) See p. 367 in this Vol.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

May.

Weston, and *Jones*, were appointed to peruse the Books, and other Records of Parliament, concerning the Members of this House, who sat since *January* 30, 1648, until *April* 20, 1653, and are not excluded by Judgment of Parliament, and to give this House an Account of the said Members.

The Form of a Letter was also agreed upon, to be signed by the Speaker, and sent to the several Members that are absent; which Letter was in these Words :

SIR,

The Speaker's
Letter to sum-
mon the Mem-
bers.

‘THE Parliament of this Commonwealth be-
‘ ing, by God’s Blessing, now again restored
‘ to the Freedom and Right of sitting, where they
‘ were interrupted on the 20th of *April*, 1653, have
‘ commanded me to give you speedy Notice thereof,
‘ to require your personal Attendance forthwith, for
‘ the carrying on the great Work expected from
‘ them, in settling and securing the Peace and Free-
‘ dom of this Commonwealth, according to your
‘ Duty in that Behalf.

Your loving Friend.’

Major *Salway*, according to Order, brought in a Draught of a Declaration, concerning the wonderful Providence of God, in restoring this present Parliament to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust; which was read first throughout, then in Parts, and debated, and several Amendments being made, on the Question, it passed, and was as follows :

A DECLARATION of the PARLIAMENT assembled
at Westminster.

The Parlia-
ment’s Declara-
tion.

‘WHEREAS the Parliament of this Common-
‘ wealth having, through the eminent
‘ Favour and Mercy of God, sat many Years in the
‘ Performance of the Trusts reposed in them by the
‘ People whose Representatives they are; and being,
in

in the Prosecution of that Duty, assembled in Parliament, at *Westminster*, upon the 20th Day of *April*, 1653, were then interrupted, and forced out of the House from that Time untill this present Day.

Inter-regnum.
1659.
May.

And whereas the Officers of the Army raised by this present Parliament, calling to mind that the same Parliament, consisting of the Members which continued to sit untill the 20th of *April*, 1653, were Assertors of the Good old Cause, and had a special Presence of God with them, and were specially blessed in that Work; did adjudge it their Duty (the Desires of many good People concurring with them therein) to invite the aforesaid Members to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trusts, as before the said 20th of *April*, 1653.

And for the effecting thereof, the Lord *Lambert*, with divers other Officers of the Army, in the Name of the Lord *Fleetwood* and Council of Officers of the Army, did, upon the 6th Day of *May*, 1659, resort unto the Speaker of the said Parliament; and, in the Presence of many of the said Members of Parliament, presented a Declaration, containing their earnest Desire, that the Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued to sit since the Year 1648, untill the 20th of *April*, 1653, would return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust; promising their Readiness in their Places, as became them, to yield their utmost Assistance to them, to sit in Safety, for improving the present Opportunity for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of this Commonwealth; praying for the Presence and Blessing of God upon their Endeavours.

Whereupon the Speaker, with the aforesaid Members of Parliament, resolved to meet at *Westminster* the next Morning, giving Notice to others of their Fellow-Members, of such their Intention. And accordingly the Speaker, with the said Members, being assembled at *Westminster* the 17th of *May*, 1659, found it a Duty incumbent on them

The 'Parliamentary HISTORY

' them not to neglect this Opportunity, which the
' wonderful, and, as they hope, the gracious Provi-
' dence of God, hath held forth unto them, for the
' Prosecution of what yet remains of their great
' Trust.

' All which the Parliament taking into their Con-
' sideration, do declare, That they are resolved,
' through the gracious Assistance of Almighty God,
' to apply themselves to the faithful Discharge of
' the Trust reposed in them, and to endeavour the
' Settlement of this Commonwealth upon such a
' Foundation, as may assert, establish, and secure
' the Property and the Liberties of the People, in
' reference unto all, both as Men, and as Christians ;
' and that without a Single Person, Kingship, or
' House of Peers : And shall vigorously endeavour
' the carrying on of Reformation so much desired,
' and so often declared for ; to the end there may be
' a godly and faithful Magistracy and Ministry up-
' held and maintained in these Nations, to the Glo-
' ry and Praise of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and to the
' reviving and making glad the Hearts of the Upright
' in the Land.'

The same Day another Committee was named, of much the same Persons, who were to repair to the Lord *Fleetwood*, and acquaint him of the Parliament's good Acceptance of the Affections of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament and this Commonwealth, manifested in their Declaration delivered to the Speaker, and by him communicated to this House. That they have expressed their Intentions thereupon, in another Declaration now passed, which the Parliament have appointed to be forthwith printed, and to be published by the Sheriffs of the several Counties throughout the Nation.

They next proceeded to constitute a Committee of Safety, *pro Tempore*, which were the Lord *Fleetwood*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, Col. *Sydenham*, Major *Salway*, and Col. *John Jones*, with full Power to take especial and effectual Care to preserve the
Peace

Peace and Safety of this Commonwealth ; and that all Officers, Soldiers, and Ministers of Justice, give due Obedience to the Orders of this Committee. To sit at such Time and Places as they, in their Discretion, shall think fit ; and are to continue for the Space of eight Days, and no longer.

Inter-regnum
1659.

May.

Ordered, That a true Copy of the Declaration, concerning the Parliament's being restored to the Exercise of their Trust, be sent to the Lord Mayor of *London*, to be by him published within the City and Liberties thereof. And that the Lord Mayor be desired to take especial Care of the Preservation and Peace of the City.

The Lord *Whitlocke*, Mr. Attorney-General, *Lechmere*, *Corbet*, *Say*, Commissioner *Lisle*, Chief Baron *Wylde*, and Mr. *Martin*, were made a Committee, to consider how the Administration of Justice may be, for the present, carried on in this Commonwealth, by Authority of Parliament, and to present a Bill for this Purpose, on *Monday* next, if they think fit.

Lastly, and to crown the Work of this long Day, it was ordered, That the Parliament meet Tomorrow Morning, being *Sunday*, in that Place, to seek the Lord for his Guidance and Blessing on the Parliament and their Proceedings ; and that Dr. *Owen* be desired to be assistant in carrying on the Duty of the Day. This Ceremony will best appear in the Words of the *Journals*.

Lord's Day, 8th of May, 1659.

' The House met this Morning, and spent it in Prayer and hearing the Word, Dr. *Owen* praying and preaching before them.

' Mr. Speaker took the Chair.

' Ordered, That the very hearty Thanks of the Parliament be given to Dr. *Owen*, for his great Pains in that seasonable Word the Lord had enabled him to deliver, in a Sermon preached this Morning before the Parliament, in this Place ; and that he be desired to print his Sermon with all convenient Speed : And that Col. *John Jones*, and Major *Salway*,

Inter-regnum.
1659.

May.

way, do acquaint him therewith, and give him the Thanks of the Parliament accordingly.

Major *Salway* reported from the Committee of Safety; That, having endeavoured to inform themselves of the State of Affairs, in reference to the Peace of this Commonwealth, they have received good Intelligence, That *Charles Stuart* intends a speedy Invasion, having for that Purpose 1300 Men, already on their March, 500 of which are come to *Brugges*: And that there are lately come over from *Flanders* into *England* very many of *Charles Stuart's* Party, several of which are excepted from Pardon; as Capt. *Titus* and Col. *Massey*; and that there were Endeavours used to draw over some of the Army of this Commonwealth to theirs: That, upon Search last Night, they found that *Titus* and *Massey* were slipped away, but some others, newly come from *Flanders*, were apprehended; a List of whose Names they hoped to give in the next Morning. They desired also, that *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and Col. *Bury*, might be added to their Committee; which was granted.

It was ordered also, That it be referred to the Members of Parliament, that are of this Committee of Safety, to inform themselves of the Powers of the late Council of State, by Authority of Parliament, and to consider of a fit Number of Persons of which the Council of State may hereafter consist, and to make Report thereof to the Parliament.

Ordered, That such Persons, heretofore Members of this Parliament, as have not sat in this Parliament since the Year 1648, and have not subscribed the Engagement, in the Roll of the Engagement of this House, shall not sit in this House till further Order of Parliament.

Ordered, That the Committee to whom the Cases of the Members of this Parliament, that sat not since the Year 1648, were formerly referred, do revise the Journals of Parliament, and thereby inform themselves of the Cases of the said Members, and they do state the Matter of Fact and the se-

veral

veral Votes and Orders of Parliament, concerning such Members, and report it to the Parliament: That the Case of the Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, be referred to the said Committee. The first of these last Votes was ordered to be set upon the Parliament Door.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

May.

‘Resolved on the Question, That all such who shall be in any Place of Trust, or Power within this Commonwealth, shall be able for the Discharge of such Trust; and that they be Persons fearing God, and that have given Testimony of their Love to all the People of God, and of their Faithfulness to the Cause of this Commonwealth, according to the Declaration of Parliament of the 7th of *May*, 1659.

‘Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee of Safety, to consider of fit Persons to be settled in Civil and Military Employments, that may be qualified according to the Declaration now passed; and to report the Names of such Persons to the Parliament, for their Allowance and Approbation.’

Letters from General *Monke* in *Scotland*, and from the Army in *Ireland*, were read; the Effect of which was, to give an Account that the Armies in both Places were in great Peace and Quietness, and were well pleased with the present Alterations in the State.—A new Great Seal ordered to be made, and a Committee appointed to inspect into the Treasuries of the Commonwealth, and the public Revenue.

May 10. Two Petitions were presented to the House, one from the City of *London*, and the other from *Southwark*: They were ushered in by formal, canting Speeches, congratulating the Parliament’s Return to Power, and testifying their Affections to the Good old Cause.

‘Ordered, That such of the Committee of Safety, as are Members of Parliament, do bring in the Names of such Persons as they shall conceive fit to be Commissioners of the Great Seal, Judges of the several Benches in *Westminster-Hall*, Barons of the Exchequer, Judges of the Admiralty, and for Probate of Wills.’

Here

The Parliamentary History

Here the *Journals* break off abruptly for this Day, without mentioning any Adjournment to the next, or to any other Time. It is therefore necessary to stop here, not only to give the Meaning, if possible, of this very uncommon Thing, but also of some late Votes, which want Explanation.

Whitelocke and *Ludlow* are both silent as to this whole Affair, and we should have been much at a Loss, was it not for the old Pamphlet, before quoted, called *England's Confusion, &c.* It seems there were many Members of the old Parliament then in Town, who would have taken their Places in the House, at this Time, had they not been first kept out by Force, and afterwards formally precluded by some of the late Votes from sitting. But as this whole Proceeding is at large in the aforesaid Pamphlet, we chuse to give it the Reader in its own Words :

Some Account of
Mr. Prymme's
Actions at this
Time.

‘ Upon Notice of their sitting, there being double their Number, Members of the same Parliament, in Town, and many of them in the Hall ; to prevent the Mischiefs of a surreptitious pack'd Parliament, they agreed among themselves in the Hall, (though they were doubtful that Parliament was dissolved) that about a Dozen or fourteen of them should immediately go to the House ; and the Persons that did so were these, viz.

Mr. <i>Annesley</i> ,	Mr. <i>Gewen</i> ,
Sir <i>George Booth</i> ,	Mr. <i>Evelin</i> ,
Mr. <i>James Herbert</i> ,	Mr. <i>Knightley</i> ,
Mr. <i>Prynne</i> ,	Mr. <i>Clive</i> ,
Mr. <i>George Montague</i> ,	Mr. <i>Hungerford</i> ,
Sir <i>John Evelin</i> ,	Mr. <i>Harley</i> ,
Mr. <i>John Herbert</i> ,	Mr. <i>Peck</i> ,

Who, though with much ado they got into the Lobby, were not suffered by the Officers of the Army to go into the House, tho' they disputed their Privilege of sitting (if the Parliament were yet in being) ; but Reason, as well as the Laws, must be silent amongst Men of War ; and therefore, after they had

had fairly made their Claim, and found the House under Force, they retired, and resolved by Letter to acquaint the Speaker, and those Gentlemen assembled with him, what Usage they had received.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

And accordingly, on *Monday* the 9th of *May*, they went to *Westminster*; where, understanding that there were no Guards upon the House, Mr. *Annesley*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Mr. *Hungerford* went up to the House, and had free Admittance, receiving the Declaration of the 7th of *May* at the Door, which was published this Day; but Mr. *Annesley* walking afterwards into the Hall, (the House not being ready to sit) to let the Members know, that, tho' they were repulsed by Force on *Saturday*, the House was open for honest Men this Day. At his Return, Capt. *Lewson*, of *Goffe's* Regiment, (as he confessed himself) and other Officers, denied him Entrance. He asking them, Whether they were a Committee to judge of Members without Doors? They said, No; but they were commanded by their superior Officers to let none in that had not sat till *April*, 1653. After some reasoning the Case with them, the Captain told Mr. *Annesley*, That if he would give his Parole to return without sitting, he might go in and speak with whom he pleased; so, upon his Parole passed to the Captain, he was permitted to go in the second Time, and soon after returned, telling the Captain, as he came out, that he had kept his Parole, and wished he and the Soldiers would do the like. Mr. *Prynne* continued still there, and resolved so to do, since he saw there was Force again upon the House. The Discourse Mr. *Prynne* had within Doors, and how he made them lose that Morning, and adjourn by reason of his Presence, without the Speaker's taking the Chair, you may expect from another Pen; and how he attempted to sit again in the Afternoon, but found there a Troop of Horse, and two Companies of Red-Coats, Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, and so bid them farewell. Immediately after which, to prevent further Interruption in their Works of Darkeness from honest Men, they barred the Door

Inter-regnum.
1659.

May.

against three Parts of four of the Members of the House by the following Vote :

‘ Ordered, That such Persons, heretofore Members of this Parliament, &c. as given before.

‘ Whereupon Sir George Booth, Mr. Annesley, Mr. Knightly, Mr. Prynn, and the rest who had agreed on a Letter to be sent to them, finding them in their old Temper of trampling the Privileges of Parliament Under-foot, and judging without hearing, resolved to make no Application to them.

But a Copy of the Letter coming to my Hands, adds the Author, I judge it so worthy of the Persons that subscribed it, and of the public View, that I have here inserted it. It was directed.

To WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq; Speaker to the Members of the House of Commons, now sitting at Westminster.

S I R,

A Letter from the Members without to those within the House.

‘ WE the Persons subscribing, and others, Members of the House, coming to Westminster-Hall on Saturday the 7th of this Month, understood that the Officers of the Army had, by their Declaration, dated the Day before, invited the Members of the Parliament to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, by virtue of an Act of Parliament passed 17 Caroli, wherein are these Words: *And be it declared and enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the Assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That this present Parliament, now assembled, shall not be dissolved, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be passed for that Purpose; nor shall it be at any Time or Times, during the Continuance thereof, prorogued or adjourned, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be likewise passed for that Purpose: And the House of Peers shall not, at any Time or Times, during this present Parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or their own Order. And, in like Manner, that the House of Commons shall not, at any Time or Times,*

during this present Parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or their own Order. And that all and every Thing or Things whatsoever, done or to be done, for the Adjournment, Proroguing; or Dissolving of this present Parliament, contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void and of none Effect. And having casual Notice immediately after, that yourself, together with the Lord Monson, Mr. Henry Martin, Mr. Chaloner, Mr. Hemingham, Sir Peter Wentworth, Alderman Atkin, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Mr. Blagrove, Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Pursey, and others, to the Number of forty, or thereabouts, were privily met together in the Painted Chamber, and seen to pass thence with a Mace before you into the House, we did, not only out of Sense of Duty to our Countries, if that Parliament be not dissolved, but by the Persuasion of Multitudes of honest, faithful, and well-affected People, minding us of our Trust, and that you wanted Number in the House for the Public Service, resolve that (in regard of the great Crowd) only about fourteen of us, there being many more in the Hall, should presently go to the House, where, if they found free Admittance, the rest might follow; but getting with much Difficulty up the Stairs, we found the outward Door shut, and strictly kept; yet by Degrees we got into the Lobby, where we found the inner Door of the House guarded by Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, and other unknown Persons, Officers, as it was said, of the Army; who, though we pressed hard to get into the House, and urged their Incompatibility to judge of the Members without Doors, which, by the Privilege of Parliament, was proper only for the House, and how they were all obliged to preserve the Freedom, Rights and Liberties of Parliament, the former Interruption and Forcing whereof they had seemingly repented; and by your present Sitting, by virtue of the said Act of 17 Car. have published to the World the Injustice of their late dispersing us: Yet by no Earnestness nor Arguments could we prevail, but were forcibly

Inter-regnum.
1659.

May.

‘ hindered by them from going into the House ; and
 ‘ when some of us acquainted Major-General *Lam-*
 ‘ *bert* (whom we met in the Lobby as we returned)
 ‘ of our Usage by the Officers, tho’ he gave us civil
 ‘ Words, yet the Force was not removed ; where-
 ‘ upon we withdrew ourselves, resolving to give you
 ‘ this Account thereof, that you may know, that
 ‘ tho’ to yourselves you may seem to sit free, there is
 ‘ the same Force, as we conceive, continued at your
 ‘ Doors which excluded, interrupted, and forced
 ‘ the major Part of the House in 1648.

‘ And now having laid before you the Matter of
 ‘ Fact, and not being conscious to ourselves (f ha-
 ‘ ving done any thing in Breach of our Trust, or
 ‘ which may merit an Exclusion from public Coun-
 ‘ cils ; and duly weighing the sad Condition of these
 ‘ Three Nations, and that *in the Multitude of Coun-*
 ‘ *sellors there is Safety* ; and that of the said House
 ‘ there are yet living at least three hundred Mem-
 ‘ bers, besides those that sat that Day, not being
 ‘ admitted to discharge our Trust, and to give our
 ‘ faithful Council, for the Good of these distracted
 ‘ and divided Nations, in the House, and to assert
 ‘ and vindicate our Innocence and faithful adhering
 ‘ to the Good old Cause, as it was held forth by the
 ‘ Parliament’s Votes, Declarations, and Oaths, till
 ‘ we were forcibly excluded : We have thought it a
 ‘ Duty incumbent on us, for ourselves, and the re-
 ‘ spective Counties, Places, and all the People for
 ‘ which we serve in this Way, to claim our own
 ‘ and the People’s Right of having their Representa-
 ‘ tives freed from Force, and admitted to the House,
 ‘ unless it be legally dissolved, and unless in a Parlia-
 ‘ mentary Way, by a full and free House, and not
 ‘ by any without Doors, any thing can be charged
 ‘ against them to disable them, which we are ready,
 ‘ as Members in our Places, to answer and quit
 ‘ ourselves of. And having no more at present to
 ‘ say, but to desire that this our Claim may be com-
 ‘ municated to the House, we remain

Westminster, May 9,
1659.Your loving Friends (a).^{By}

(a) Their Names not given.

By this Account we see plainly the Reason for passing one of the late Votes, and fixing it on the Door of the Parliament House, which was to exclude such Members as they did not like; tho' they needed not that Precaution, when their Guards were a much greater Security against them: And that Mr. Prynne's slipping into the House one Day, and talking away at his usual Rate, so disturbed them as to occasion an abrupt Breaking up, without any Notice being taken of it in the Journals. But the Account of this Matter is best given by Mr. Prynne himself; as we find it in a Pamphlet of these Times, written and published by him, tho' he has not put his Name to the Title, called *A true and perfect Narrative, &c.* Where having mentioned, 'That he and several others of the secluded Members met and consulted together in *Westminster-Hall*; and after taking some Resolutions, he went to the Lobby-Door of the Commons House, accompanied by Sir George Booth, Mr. Arthur Annesley, Sir John Evelin, Mr. Thomas Gewn, Mr. Charles Rich, Mr. Montague, Mr. Richard Knightly, Mr. Hungerford, and one or two more; which being shut to keep out the People crowding on the Stairs to get in, through whom they could hardly pass, Mr. Prynne knocked twice or thrice, but could get no Admittance, till the Door being opened to let out Mr. Nye, and some other Ministers, Mr. Prynne, with Sir George Booth and Mr. Annesley, being foremost, pressed into the Lobby; and then the Door being shut and bolted again, Mr. Prynne unbolted and held it open till the rest came in, where they finding Mr. John and Mr. James Herbert standing in the Lobby, acquainted them with their Intentions to go then into the House, who resolved to go in with them. Coming all up towards the House Door, which was shut and kept guarded, as it presently appeared, by some Officers of the Army, Mr. Prynne required them to open the Door to let them in, being all Members of the old Parliament,

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

Mr. Prynne's
own Account of
the Affair.

Interregnum.

1659.

May.

Who thereupon demanded, Whether they had continued sitting in it since 1648 to 1653? Mr. *Prynne* and the rest all answered, That being Members of the old Parliament, they would give no Account to them or any others, of their Sitting, but only to the House itself, whereof they were Members, being contrary to the Privilege of Parliament, which they and others were obliged inviolably to maintain: Upon which, demanding their Names, they said, That if they would send in a Note of their Names to the House, and they ordered them to come in, they should be admitted. Whereto Mr. *Prynne* replied, We yet knew not who were within the House, nor whether they were yet sitting, nor upon what Account they sat; nor was it agreeable with the Custom or Privilege of Parliament for one Member to send Tickets to his Fellow-Members for free Admission into the House, being all Equals, and having an equal Right freely to enter into it at all Times, as well as they; nor was it their Duty thus to capitulate with Members, but obey their just Commands in opening the Door: Which they still refusing, Mr. *Prynne* demanded, Who and what they were, being all Strangers to them; and by whose Authority, or Order, they thus forcibly kept them out? They answered, They were Officers of the Army, and had sufficient Authority to keep them out, if they had not sat since 1648 till 1653. Mr. *Prynne* demanded from whom they had their Warrant, since they could have none from those within, being but newly entered; and none else could give them such a Warrant nor they within before they heard them, and gave good Reason for it; demanding them to produce their Order, if they had any, in Writing, that they might know by whose Authority they were thus forcibly kept out, demanding their several Names twice or thrice, wherewith they refused to acquaint them. Upon this Mr. *Prynne* told them, They doubted of their Authority, or Orders, thus to seclude them, because they were either ashamed or afraid to tell them their Names, when as they told them theirs: That they knew not

whether

whether they were Officers of the Army or not, unless they knew their Names, that so they might inquire the Truth of it, or see their Commissions : And, if they were Army Officers indeed, they had published a printed Declaration, in all their Names, that Morning, inviting, as they conceived, all the Members they formerly secluded, to return and sit again in the House to discharge their Trusts ; wherein they professed their former Force upon, and Seclusion of, them, to be a Backsliding, and wandering into unrighteous Paths ; which they seemingly repented of, promising to yield their utmost Assistance to them to sit in Safety, and praying for the Presence and Blessing of God upon their Endeavours : And if now, within few Hours after this Remonstrance published, they thus highly and publicly violated it in the View of all there present, by returning to their former Backslidings and unrighteous Paths, in secluded those who were Members afresh, and violating their own Declaration, none would henceforth credit them or it. Upon which one of them told Mr. *Prynne*, He knew he was none of them who sat since 1648 till 1653 ; therefore they were not bound to let him in, being not within their Declaration : Who retorted, He thought their Repentance had been universal, not partial, of all their Forces upon the House and Members, especially of their greatest, *December 6, 1648*, when they not only secluded, but secured and imprisoned him and forty more in Hell and other Places, and forced away three Times as many more for discharging their Trusts, and asserting the true Good old Cause, against their Commissions, Trusts, Protections, and printed Remonstrances ; which if they would look back upon, and well consider, as they proclaim they had done in their new Declaration, they would find to be one of their greatest Backslidings where they first turned out of the Way, which caused God to withdraw his Presence and good Spirit from them ever since, and give them up to the Prosecution of a new *Romish* Good old Cause, which had brought us into that Posture, and occasioned those Vicissi-

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

tudes of Dangers, and caused God, in his Providence, to make all Essays to settle us utterly ineffectual, to convince them of, and reclaim them from, their Error, which they now pursued afresh as vigorously as ever: That, for his own Part, after his Imprisonment by them, against both Law and Privilege, in 1648, in sundry Places, he was again forcibly seized by some of the Army, in his House, in 1650, and kept a close Prisoner near three Years, under armed Guards of Soldiers, in three remote Castles, far distant from those then sitting; therefore they could not make their unrighteous Imprisonment of him then, without any Cause or Hearing, a just Ground to seclude him from sitting now. But all these Expostulations of Mr. *Prynne's* and others not prevailing, they desired all present to take Notice and bear Witness of this high Affront and Breach of Privilege, in this their forcible Seclusion: And so departing, Mr. *Knightly* meeting Major-General *Lambert* in the Lobby, complained to him of this forcible Seclusion, who gave him a civil Answer to this Effect: That Things were now in a Hurry, and their entering at this Time into the House might cause some Disturbance; but doubted not such Course would be taken by the Officers of the Army in a few Days, that none should be forcibly secluded; and so they went from the Lobby into the Hall from whence they came, acquainting those Members they left there with the Premises.

After some Conference with one another, it was thought fit they should meet about Four o'Clock in the Evening, under *Lincoln's-Inn* Chapel; and, in the mean Time, that every one should inquire what old secluded, or secured, Members were now in Town, and how many Members of the Long Parliament were yet living, chosen or sitting before *December 6, 1648*, when they were first forcibly secluded by the Army. Some met accordingly, and, upon Conference, found there were about eighty secluded Members now in *London* and *Westminster*, being near double the Number of those sitting that Day, and above three hundred Members of all Sorts yet living,

living, chosen or sitting in the Commons House before *December 6, 1648*, over and above those that now sat; all which they conceived ought, in Justice, to be summoned by the Speaker's Letter, freely to meet and sit in the House, at a convenient Time to be agreed upon. In order whereunto some ten of them met in the Council Chamber of *Lincoln's-Inn*, as the fittest Place to write down a Catalogue of all the surviving Members Names, by the Help of their Memories and the printed List of them; which having finished, they departed; agreeing to meet in *Westminster-Hall* about Nine o'Clock on *Monday Morning*, whither Mr. *Prynne* carried the List of the Names formerly written, digested into an alphabetical Order, to communicate it to other Members. Those that sat at the Meeting on the *Lord's Day*, adjourned their House till Ten o'Clock on *Monday Morning*; but the Court not sitting in *Westminster-Hall* that Day, Mr. *Prynne* found the Hall very thin, and few Members in it: Whilst he was standing in the Hall, expecting those who promised to meet there, he was twice informed, one after another, That there were no Guards at all at the House Door; that any Person might freely go into it without Examination, there being but few Members within, and the Doors standing open. Whereupon he spoke to four or five Members there met, to go along with him into the House; and, if they were freely admitted, to give Notice of it to the rest to follow after if they pleased. Some of them were unwilling to go, being formerly repulsed, thinking it better to make a Narrative of their former forcible Seclusion on *Saturday*, and to signify it by a Letter directed to the Speaker, subscribed with their Names; which Mr. *Prynne* conceived superfluous, since the Door now stood freely open to all, without any Guards to seclude any; and that, as he apprehended, in pursuance of Major-General *Lambert's* Promise to Mr. *Knightly*; and it would be idle to complain of that Force by Letter, wherewith they might now acquaint those then sitting by their own Mouths, if there were Cause. Upon which

Inter-regnum.

1655.

May.

Ground

Inter-regnum.
1659.

May.

Ground Mrr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Annesley*, and Mr. *Hungerford*, about Ten o'Clock went to the House, where the Doors of the Lobby and House were at first knocked open to them by the ordinary Door-keepers, upon their telling them they were Members, (there being no Guard at either Door) delivered to each of them, as Members, a printed Paper, intituled, *A Declaration of the Parliament assembled at Westminster*, Saturday, May 7, 1659. They found not above nine or ten of those who sat within the House, who courteously saluted them: After some short Discourses, Mr. *Annesley* and Mr. *Hungerford* leaving Mr. *Prynne* in the House, (out of which he resolved not to stir upon any Occasion, for fear of a new forcible Seclusion) went back into the Hall to acquaint the Members in it, they might freely enter if they pleased. Mr. *Annesley* returning, was forcibly kept out from re-entering by some Soldiers sent thither, as he conceited, for that Purpose. Wherewith he acquainted Mr. *Prynne* by a Note, desiring to speak with him at the House Door; which being opened, Mr. *Annesley* pressed to go in to speak with him; but was denied Entrance, unless he would give his Parole presently to come out again, and not stay in: Whereupon he said, Tho' they had often broken their Paroles with them, yet he would not break his Parole, but would come forth so soon as he had spoken with Mr. *Prynne*; which he accordingly performed. After this Mr. *Prynne* had Conference with divers Members as they came in, who said they were glad to see him in Health, and meet him there again. The House being thin, Mr. *Prynne* turned to the Statute 17 *Caroli*, cap. vii. reading it to himself; and after that to two other Members, telling them it was a Doubt, whether the old Parliament was not determined by the King's Death, notwithstanding that Act; which was fit to be first freely debated in a full House, before aught else was done. Upon which they demanded, Why he came amongst them, if he made a Scruple, or thought it to be dissolved? Who answered, To have it fully debated and resolved in a full and free House.

After

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

After which, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* coming in, Mr. *Prynne* saluted and told him, He was glad to meet him again in this Place : Who presently answered, He had nothing to do to sit there as a Member, being formerly seclused. Whereto he replied, He had as good a Right to sit there as himself, or any other Member whatsoever, upon the Account of the old Parliament, if in Being, having acted, written, and suffered more in Defence of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, than himself, or any sitting with him. Upon which Sir *Henry Vane* coming in, and stepping up to him, said, in a menacing Manner, Mr. *Prynne*, What makes you here ? You ought not to come into the House, being formerly voted out : I wish you as a Friend quietly to depart hence, else some Course will be presently taken with you for your Presumption : Which Sir *Arthur* seconded, telling him, If he refused, that there would be a speedy Course taken, and a Charge put in against him, for his Meetings on *Saturday*, and Actings against the House. To which he replied, He had as good, if not a better Right to sit than either of them : That he knew of no Vote to seclude, nor of any there who had Right or Power to vote him out, being equally intrusted with themselves for the whole Nation, and those he represented : That he was never convicted of any Breach of his Parliamentary Trust, and hoped they would have both the Justice and Patience to hear before they voted him out : And then he doubted not to make it appear themselves were greater Infringers of their Trusts, and more worthy to be voted out, than himself : As for their Charge and Menaces, he was no way affrighted with them, it being as free and lawful for him and other Members to meet and advise together, both as Members and Freemen of *England*, for Preservation of themselves, the People's Rights, and the Parliament's Privileges, when forcibly seclused, as they did on *Saturday* ; as for themselves, or the Army Officers, to meet privately and publicly, both in and out of the House, to deprive them of their Privileges, as they had oft Times done of late :

That

The Parliamentary HISTORY

That these high menacing Words were a very ill Performance of their new-published Declaration, delivered him at the Door : That they were resolv'd, by the gracious Assistance of Almighty God, to apply themselves to the faithful Discharge of their legal Trust ; to assert, establish, and secure the Property and Liberty of the People, in reference unto all, both as Men and Christians ; which if they should publickly violate and null, by any unjust Charge or Proceedings against him who had suffered so much, both as an *English* Freeman, Christian, and Member too, (by their three Years close Imprisonment of him, without Cause or Hearing) under their new Free State, when first erected, and now again upon their very first reviving of it, though a Member, only for coming into the House, and meeting with other Members, to claim their Rights, it would highly reflect upon their intended new Free State, and make all out of Love with it. After which, they going up with other Members into the Committee-Chamber, to consult how to dispose of, or get him out of the House, about Half an Hour after they all came down into the House, where Mr. *Prynne* continued sitting. The Speaker being come in the Interim, they first concluded to go to Prayers, then to sit as an House : Whereupon all taking their Places, Mr. *Prynne* took his Place too, where he usually sat before, resolving not to stir thence ; which Sir *Arthur* and Sir *Henry* observing, after some Whisperings with the Speaker and others next them, though the Cushion was laid, and Order given them to call in the Chaplain to pray, yet they countermanded it, telling they Speaker, It was now somewhat late, and they could dispatch little before Dinner ; therefore they would, by Agreement, without any Adjournment, presently rise and go to Dinner, and then sit in the Afternoon about One o'Clock ; and the Speaker, in the mean Time, might dispatch a Business he said he must needs do : Upon which they all rising, Mr. *Prynne* continued in the House till most of them (being about forty-two with himself, in his Computation)

were

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

were gone out, lest they should return and sit so soon as he was gone, his Presence there being the sole Cause of their not sitting. Mr. *Prynne* then going out after them, found a Guard of Soldiers with Halberts at the Door, and a Troop of Horse in the *Palace-Yard*, which were purposely sent for to keep out the other Members, and Mr. *Prynne*, if he returned, as the Sequel proved. Mr. *Prynne* having acquainted some secluded Members in the Hall with these Passages in the House, who agreeing to send a Letter to the Speaker, touching their forcible Seclusion on *Saturday*, he returned to *Lincoln's-Inn*, where he dined in the Hall. Immediately after Dinner he repaired to *Westminster*, with a Resolution to go into the House, if admitted; or protest against the Force, if secluded by the Army Guards there placed. He found a whole Troop of Horse in the *Palace-Yard*, and a Company of Foot on the Stairs and Court of Requests, drawn thither to keep him and other Members out; whereupon he walked in the Hall till past Three o'Clock, expecting the Speaker's coming, with whom he intended to enter. At last, being informed that he went the Back-way without the Mace, and was gone into the House, Mr. *Prynne*, to avoid a Tumult, (a Company of unknown Persons in the Hall going after to see the Issue) went purposely forth towards the Abbey, till all were gone from the Steps; and then going up only with one of his Acquaintance, no Member, he found the Door and Stairs before the Lobby strictly guarded with Red-Coats; who, with their Halberts, crossed the Door and Steps so thick that none could pass: Whereupon Mr. *Prynne* demanded Entrance, saying he was a Member; and they, being ignorant who he was, permitted him to pass through their Pikes into the Lobby, but secluded his Friend from going up with him. When he came at the House-Door to enter, several Officers of the Army there placed, one of them sitting in a Chair, told him, That he must not enter, and that they had special Order to keep him out of the House: Whereupon he protested against this their forcible

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

forcible double Seclusion of him as an high Contempt and Breach of Privilege, contrary to their own and the Sitting Members Declaration published that Day; demanding, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, and those for whom he was elected, free Admission for himself and other Members they kept out by a visible Force of Horse and Foot; which was a worse and more real Levying of War against the Parliament, than the beheaded King or his Party were guilty of.

After this he goes on with a long Dialogue he held with the Officers that were of the Guard in the Lobby, which we omit; having given enough to shew, that his enthusiastic Zeal got the better of any Fear, and made him face the greatest Dangers.

But to proceed with our *Journals*: —

May 11. This Day a Bill for enabling and authorizing certain Persons to be Justices of the Peace and Sheriffs, was read a third Time; and, with some Amendments, passed. This Bill was, at the same Time, ordered to be printed and published, but we are not able to learn the Purport of it; for tho' it was then ordered to be printed and published, yet since the Acts of this Session were never collected together, after the Manner of *Scobell*, we have not been able to meet with any of them.

Upon Report from the Committee of Safety, of renewed Information given them of Endeavours, by disaffected Persons, to raise Disturbance in several Parts of the Nation, it was first ordered, 'That the said Committee do take Care for searching, seizing, and securing such Persons, and their Horses and Arms, for the preventing of the present Danger, and Security of the Commonwealth.' Auxiliary Forces were also ordered to be raised, and a Militia constituted in each County, and Arms to be put into such Hands as had given Testimony of their Faithfulness to the Parliament and Commonwealth. And now

Col.

Col. Jones, from the Committee of Safety, presented a Draught of an Act for constituting a Council of State, with Instructions; together with the Opinion of the said Committee, That the Number thereof should be only twenty-four Persons.

Inter-regnum.
1659.
May.

May 13. Mr. Scott reported from the same, the Names of the following Persons, who were to be Commissioners for nominating Commission Officers, in the Army, viz. Lord Charles Fleetwood, Lord John Lambert, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Major-General Desborough, Col. James Bury, Sir Henry Vane, and Lieutenant-General Ludlow. And that Lord Charles Fleetwood be Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the Land Forces in England, and Scotland. All which were agreed unto by the House; and the Time for the Continuance of the said Commissioners be limited for one Year; and that the Commission to be Lieutenant-General, &c. be from the Parliament.

The House being informed that there were divers Officers of the Army at the Door, the Speaker, by Direction of the House, ordered them to be called in. Whereupon General Lambert, Col. Desborough, and divers other Colonels and Officers of the Army, being come to the Bar, Lambert expressed himself thus:

Mr. Speaker,

WE are commanded, by the Officers of the Army, to present before you their Humble Petition and Address. There are several Things contained in it, which have been a long Time upon their Hands, and no visible Way of Redress. Finding, to their great Joy and Satisfaction, that you are returned, in Discharge of their Trust, they thought fit not to neglect this Opportunity, but have commanded us to present this Petition.

He then exhibited a Petition, which, when the Officers were withdrawn, was read; and, being called

led

Inter-regnum.
1659.

May.

led in again, the Speaker, by Direction of the Parliament, gave them the following Answer :

I Am commanded by the House to tell you, That they have read your Petition, the Petition and Address that you have made here to us : They have commanded me likewise to tell you, That, as they found your Affections before they came hither, so they find that Affection continuing. For the Things contained in the Petition, they are Things of great Weight ; and many more Things of great Weight are lying before the House. And it is concerning that Settlement, for which the Divine Providence of God hath brought us hither, who, we hope, shall never depart from us.—The House find in your Advice much Love and Affection ; and have commanded me to acknowledge that Love and Affection you have shewn, and to give you Thanks, very hearty Thanks, for your Love and Expressions of it : And accordingly, in their Name, I do give you very hearty Thanks.

There is no further Notice taken of this Petition in the *Journals* ; and we should have been intirely in the Dark, as to the Purport of it, if another old Pamphlet had not restored it to our View. We shall now see, therefore, what these Lords and Masters wanted to be done at this Time, and it will explain, also, much of our connective History which is to follow :

The HUMBLE PETITION and ADDRESS of the OFFICERS of the ARMY, to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

A Petition from
the Army to the
House.

Calling to Mind the former Declarations of Parliament, and the Grounds therein inviting us to take up Arms, and those many signal Providences wherein the Lord hath owned you and your Forces both by Sea and Land, in asserting that righteous Cause, wherein the Civil and Religious Liberties of the People of these Nations were involved, so as all open Opposition was beat-

'en down before you : And likewise weighing
'with ourselves, how, in the several late Changes in
'Government, that public Spirit which appeared
'in that Work hath since that Time been discour-
'aged, and another raised up, drawing back to the
'same Things you had contended against, even to
'the hazarding the Essentials of that Cause ; we
'did, upon serious Thoughts of Heart, think it our
'Duty once more to appear against those backsliding
'Ways ; and Providence having brought the State
'of Affairs to the Condition they were in some few
'Days before your Sitting, we found it necessary to
'assert, amongst ourselves, some of the Fundamen-
'tals of our good old Cause, with some other Things
'conducting to the Preservation thereof, with a full
'and fixed Resolution, thro' the Assistance of God,
'effectually, even to the Hazard of our Lives, to
'endeavour the Recovery and Security of the same.
'And the same good Providence holding forth an
'Opportunity to us, to open unto you a Way for
'the further Discharge of your remaining Trust in
'Parliament, we did, by our Declaration of the 6th
'of this Instant *May*, humbly desire you would be
'pleased to return to the Exercise and Discharge
'thereof, as before the 20th of *April*, 1653.

'And having, to our great Rejoicing, seen your
'Declaration of the 7th Instant, shewing, That you
'are resolved, thro' the gracious Assistance of Al-
'mighty God, to apply yourselves to the faithful
'Discharge of the Trust reposed in you, and to
'endeavour the Settlement of this Commonwealth
'upon such a Foundation as may assert, establish,
'and secure, the Liberties of the People, in refer-
'ence unto all, both as Men and Christians, and
'that without a Single Person, Kingship, or House
'of Peers, resolving vigorously to endeavour the
'carrying on the Work of Reformation, so much
'desired, and so often declared for, to the end there
'may be a godly and faithful Magistracy and Mi-
'nistry upheld and maintained in these Nations ;
'which so fully answers what our Hearts were drawn
'forth to desire, that we could not any longer for-
VOL. XXL C c 'bear

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

‘ bear to express our Thankfulness of this Door of
 ‘ Hope, again opened toward the obtaining a Con-
 ‘ summation of those Things, so much breathed
 ‘ after by the good People of this Commonwealth.
 ‘ And however we find ourselves, in some Mea-
 ‘ sure, prevented, by the late Declaration and Re-
 ‘ solves of this Parliament; yet, nevertheless, we
 ‘ have judged it our Duty to represent what was
 ‘ chiefly and unanimously upon our Hearts, when
 ‘ we engaged in that which made Way for your
 ‘ Return, which we humbly, as becomes us, lay
 ‘ before you.

I. ‘ That the Liberty of the Persons, and Pro-
 ‘ perty of the Estates, of all the free People of these
 ‘ Nations, be maintained, preserved, and kept in-
 ‘ violable, according to Law, under the Govern-
 ‘ ment of a Free State and Commonwealth, without
 ‘ a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers.

II. ‘ That there may be such a just and due Re-
 ‘ gulation of Law, and Courts of Justice and Equity,
 ‘ as that they may be a Protection, and not vexa-
 ‘ tious or oppressive, to the People of these Nations.

III. ‘ That, by an Act of Oblivion, all and every
 ‘ Person and Persons, who have, since the 19th of
 ‘ April, 1653, mediately or immediately, advised,
 ‘ acted, or done, or commanded or appointed to
 ‘ be acted or done, or by Command or Appoint-
 ‘ ment, have acted or done any Matter or Thing
 ‘ whatsoever, in reference to the several Changes or
 ‘ Alterations in the Government of these Nations,
 ‘ since the said 19th of April, 1653, or in order to
 ‘ the Public Service, Peace, or Safety of these Na-
 ‘ tions, be indemnified and saved harmless to all In-
 ‘ tents and Purposes whatsoever.

IV. ‘ That all Laws, Ordinances, Orders, De-
 ‘ clarations, and Establishments made in the seve-
 ‘ ral Changes and Alterations of Government that
 ‘ have been in these Nations, since the 19th of April
 ‘ aforesaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be
 ‘ deemed good in Law, untill particularly repealed.

V. ‘ That such Debts as have been contracted
 ‘ for the Public Service and Affairs of this Com-
 ‘ monwealth,

monwealth, and for the Charges of the Govern-
ment, since the 20th of *April*, 1653; be carefully
paid and satisfied.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

May.

VI. 'That all Persons who profess Faith in
'God the Father, and in *Jesus Christ*, his Eternal
'Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit God
'co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God
'blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy
'Scriptures; of the Old and New Testament, to
'be the Revealed or Written Word or Will of
'God, shall not be restrained from their Profession,
'but have due Encouragement and equal Protec-
'tion in the Profession of their Faith, and Exercise
'of Religion, whilst they abuse not this Liberty to
'the Civil Injury of others, or Disturbance of others
'in their Way of Worship; so that this Liberty be
'not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as
'shall practise or hold forth Licentiousness or Pro-
'faneness, under the Profession of Religion: And
'that all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Clauses
'in any Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the con-
'trary, may be declared null and void.

VII. 'That a godly, faithful, and painful Go-
'spel-preaching Ministry be every where encoura-
'ged, countenanced, and maintained.

VIII. 'That the Universities and Schools of
'Learning be so countenanced and reformed, as
'that they may become the Nurseries of Piety and
'Learning.

IX. 'That such Persons as have, at any Time,
'since the 20th of *May*, 1642, aided, or assisted, or
'adhered to the late King *Charles Stuart*, his Son,
'or any other Person or Persons whatsoever of that
'Party, against the Parliament or Commonwealth
'of *England*; and all other Persons whatsoever,
'that have made Use of any Authority or Power,
'under Pretence of Law or otherwise, to deprive
'or abridge any of the good People of these Nations
'of their Christian Liberty, or have, or shall express
'themselves in any way Mockers, Scoffers, or Re-
'vilers of Godliness, or of the Professors thereof,
'or are otherwise scandalous, or loose in their Con-
versations,

Inter-regnum.
1659.

May.

‘versations, or have not given good Satisfaction of
 ‘their Affection and Faithfulness to this Cause,
 ‘may be speedily removed out of all Places of Power
 ‘or Trust in the Magistracy, or other Management
 ‘of the Public Affairs of these Nations; and that
 ‘no such Persons may be admitted unto any such
 ‘Place of Power or Trust for the future.

X. ‘And forasmuch as no godly or other good
 ‘Interest can be preserved or maintained, unless the
 ‘Persons, who are chiefly interested with the Ma-
 ‘nagement and Exercise of Government, be of
 ‘suitable Spirits to those Interests; that those who
 ‘are or shall be intrusted therein, be such Persons
 ‘as shall be found to be most eminent for Godliness,
 ‘Faithfulness, and Constancy, to the good Cause
 ‘and Interests of these Nations.

XI. ‘That to the end the Legislative Authority
 ‘of this Commonwealth may not, by their long Sit-
 ‘ting, become burthenfome or inconvenient, there
 ‘may be effectual Provision made for a due Succes-
 ‘sion thereof.

XII. ‘And for the better Satisfaction and more
 ‘firm Union of the Forces of this Commonwealth,
 ‘in this Juncture of Affairs, for preserving and
 ‘maintaining the Principles, and other Matters
 ‘thereunto subservient, we do unanimously acknow-
 ‘ledge and own the Lord *Charles Fleetwood*, Lieute-
 ‘nant-General of the Army, to be Commander in
 ‘Chief of the Land-Forces of this Commonwealth.

XIII. ‘That, in order to the establishing and
 ‘securing the Peace, Welfare, and Freedom of the
 ‘People of these Nations, for the Ends before ex-
 ‘pressed, the Legislative Power thereof may be in a
 ‘Representative of the People, consisting of a House,
 ‘successively chosen by the People, in such Way
 ‘and Manner as this Parliament shall judge meet,
 ‘and of a select Senate, co-ordinate in Power, of
 ‘able and faithful Persons, eminent for Godliness,
 ‘and such as continue adhering to this Cause.

XIV. ‘That the Administration of the executive
 ‘Power of Government may be in a Council of

State, consisting of a convenient Number of Persons, qualified in all Respects as aforesaid.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

XV. That all Debts, contracted by his late Highness, or his Father, since the 15th of December 1653, may be satisfied; and that an honourable Revenue of 10,000*l. per Annum*, with a convenient House, may be settled upon him and his Heirs for ever; and 10,000*l. per Annum* more upon him during Life; and upon his Honourable Mother 8000*l. per Annum* during her Life; to the end a Mark of the high Esteem this Nation hath of the good Service done by his Father, our ever-renowned General, may remain to Posterity.

These having been the Thoughts and Desires of our Hearts, unanimously agreed upon before your returning to sit, and finding the Spirits of divers of the honest faithful People of this Commonwealth led forth for the same Things, and yourselves, by your late Declaration and Resolutions, in a great Measure assisting them, we thought it our Duty to the Nations, to you, and to the honest People, humbly to present these; and beg the Blessing and Presence of the Lord with you, in the Prosecution and Bringing-forth such a Settlement as may be for the Honour of God, the Union, Joy, and Rejoicing of all the peaceable People of this Commonwealth. *And we shall pray, &c.*

Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment, of the Council of Officers, the 12th Day of May, 1659,

THO. SANDEFORD, *Secretary.*

Presented to the Parliament by

Lord Lambert,	Col. Sankey,
Lord Desborough,	Col. Ashfield,
Col. Bury,	Maj. Gen. Kelsey,
Col. Hewson,	Col. Prittie,
Col. Barkstead,	Col. Salmon,
Col. Lilburne,	Col. Clarke,
Col. Cooper,	Col. Fitch,
Col. Hacker,	Lieut. Col. Mosse,
Col. Okey,	Lieut. Col. Mason.

The Parliamentary History

To proceed with the Journals :—

Sir *Henry Vane*, from the Committee, reported the State of foreign Affairs in regard to *England*, and that they were Matters of great Consequence fit for the Consideration of the House.

First, 'That this Commonwealth was in Amity with all States except *Spain* : That there had been an annual Treaty with *France*, but expired last *Lady-Day* : That there was also a Treaty with *Flanders* : That *Dunkirk* was yielded to *England* for their Assistance to *France* : That there is no Peace between *Spain* and *France*, but two Months Truce, including *Dunkirk* within that Truce : That the *English* Fleet in the *Sound* arrived there a Month since, to whom Instruction had been given on the Ground of Amity between this Commonwealth and the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, to be as Mediators between both : That Treaties have been between *England* and *Holland* in this Affair ; that so, when the Fleets of both Commonwealths meet in the *Sound*, they may meet as Friends : That the *Holland* Fleet is now gone likewise to the *Sound*, but with Direction to shew all fair Respects and Actions, of Kindness to *England* ; but it is not discerned that a Peace is concluded between the two Kingdoms.'

These Considerations moved the House to proceed speedily in settling their new Council of State ; and the Bill for constituting of it, with Instructions, was then read a first Time ; and some Alterations being made, it was resolved, 'That the Time for the Continuance of the Council of State be till the first Day of *December* next ; and that the Number of them consist of thirty-one.' But a Question being proposed, That ten of the said Number be of Persons that are not Members of Parliament ; the House divided, and it was carried in the Affirmative, 25 against 19. And *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, Major-General *Lambert*, Col. *John* *Desborough*, *James* *Bury*, *John* *Bradshaw* Serjeant at Law, Sir *Anthony*

Anthony Ashley Cooper, and *Sir Horatio Townshend*, were immediately named of this Number; the other three were reserved for a general Ballot, which was ordered to be got ready against next Day.

Inter-regnum.
1659.
May.

Accordingly, *May 14*, after some other Business done, of small Moment, the House proceeded in the Election of the Twenty-one to be chosen of the Members of the House, and of the remaining Three of the Ten, to be chosen of those out of the House, to be of the Council of State.

‘ Mr. Speaker appointed Colonel *Sydney* and *Sir Arthur Haselrigge* to tell the Number of the House; which is by them reported to Mr. Speaker, and by him published to the House, to be Seventy-seven; and *Dr. Palmer* came in after the Report made, which made up Seventy-eight.

‘ Two Glasses were prepared; the one, for each Member to put in his Paper of the Names of Twenty one Members of the House, whom he would have to be of the Council of State; the other, for each Member to put in his Paper of the Names of the Three Persons, which are not of the House, to be elected Members of the Council.

‘ The Clerk thereupon went to each Member, with one of the Glasses, and received from him, in the Glass, his Paper of Names for the said Twenty-one Members; and the Clerk-Assistant went to the same Members, and received from each of them, in the other Glass, a Paper of Names for the Three; and so they both brought their several Glasses, and set them upon the Table.

‘ Mr. Speaker appointed *Sir Arthur Haselrigge*, *Mr. Scott*, *Mr. Raleigh*, and *Mr. Sydney*, to count the Papers in the Glasses of Twenty one Members; which being done, they report the Number of the Papers to agree with the Number of the House.

‘ And the four Members open’d each Paper in the Glass, for the Twenty-one Members, and caused the Clerk to read each Name distinctly, and to write down each Name; and with a straight Line drawn against that Name, to give one Stroke of the

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

Pen cros the said Line ; and as often as any Name was repeated, the Clerk did make another Stroke cros the said Line : And all the Names being read, Mr. *Raeligh*, Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, Mr. *Scott*, and Col. *Sydney*, reported, That there are, in the said Papers, these One-and-twenty Persons, who have the greatest Number of Subscriptions ; viz. Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Major *Salway*, Col. *Morley*, Mr. *Scott*, Mr. *Wallop*, Sir *James Harrington*, Col. *Wanton*, Col. *John Jones*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Sydney*, Mr. *Nevill*, Mr. *Thomas Chaloner*, Col. *Downes*, Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Col. *Thompson*, Lord Commissioner *Whitlocke*, Col. *Dixwell*, and Mr. *Reynolds*. And the Question being put upon every one of them distinctly, they were all confirmed by the House ; and so the former Committee of Safety was dissolved. We think proper to mention here, That, two Days after, the Lord *Warriston*, Sir *Robert Honeywood*, and Mr. *Josias Barners*, were elected, by Ballot, to make up the Number Ten, of those who were not Members of this Parliament.

The several Characters of all these worthy Men are, again, ludicrously given in the Pamphlet of *England's Confusion*, &c. which take in its own Words, as follows :

Sir <i>Arthur Hasilrigge</i> ,	<i>Fleetwood</i> ,
Sir <i>Henry Vane</i> ,	Sir <i>James Harrington</i> ,
<i>Ludlow</i> ,	Col. <i>Walton</i> ,
<i>Jo. Jones</i> ,	<i>Nevill</i> ,
<i>Sydenham</i> ,	<i>Chaloner</i> ,
<i>Scott</i> ,	<i>Downes</i> ,
<i>Salway</i> ,	<i>Whitlocke</i> ,

Whose several Characters you have before ;
Hab. Morley, Squib-maker of the County of *Sussex* ;
Sydney, who hath nothing of Sir *Philip* but the Name ;
Col. *Thompson*, as wooden a Head as Leg ;
Col. *Dixwell*, better known in *Kent* than trusted ;
Mr. *Reynolds*, Half-Bishop of *Winchester*, and
Whole-Solicitor to the Infant Commonwealth ;
Oliver

Oliver St. John, late Solicitor to the King, now Solicitor to the Commonwealth, to be Chief Justice again; but they hold him to be *sanctus Nomine non Re*, and too great a Patron of the Law;

Inter-regnum.
1659.
May.

Hasttrigge remembers his and *Collingwood's* Case;

Mr. Wallop, a silent *Hampshire* Gentleman, much in Debt; fit indeed to be Counsellor, if he could advise the Commonwealth how to get out of Debt;

Of Persons without the House, Ten, viz.

Bradshaw, President at the formal Murder of the King;

Lambert, a *Yorkshire* Gentleman, not born to *Wimbleton-House*, but too crafty for them all now old *Oliver* is gone;

Desborough, a Country Clown without Fear or Wit;

Lord Fairfax, an Allay for *Lambert's* brittle Metal;

Bury, the worst of Major-Generals, except *Butler*;

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, a Gentlemen too wise and honest to sit in such Company;

Sir Horatio Townshend, a Gentlemen of too good an Estate to be hazarded with such a Crew;

Sir Robert Honeywood, *Sir Henry Vane's* Brother-in Law;

Sir Archibald Johnson, *Lord Warriston*, never advanced before the Marquis of *Argyle* till he came for *England*;

Josiah Barners, Fool of the Play.

This Day the House also passed an Act for the Continuance of the present *Easter* Term, and it was ordered to be forthwith printed and published. The late Great Seal, made by *Oliver*, was brought into the House and broken, and a Bill, for establishing a new Great Seal, was read three Times together; and, upon the Question, passed. This short Act is entered in the *Journals*, and runs in these Words:

An ACT for the GREAT SEAL of England.

BE it Enacted by this present Parliament, and the Authority of the same, That the Seal, on the one Side whereof is engraven the Maps of *England*, *Ireland*, and the Isles of *Jersey*, *Guernsey*,
A new Great Seal ordered.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

'*sey, and Man, with the Arms of England and Ireland, and this Inscription, viz. The Great Seal of England, One thousand six hundred fifty one; and, on the other Side, the Sculpture of the Parliament sitting, with this Inscription, viz. In the third Year of Freedom, by God's Blessing restored, One thousand six hundred fifty-one, shall, from henceforth, be the Great Seal of England, and none other; and shall be, and is hereby authorized and established to be, of the like Force, Power, and Validity, to all Intents and Purposes, as any Great Seal of England hath heretofore been or ought to be.*'

Lenthall, their Speaker, was made Keeper of this Great Seal for the Space of eight Days only; four Judges were created; and a large Committee appointed to bring in an Act of Indemnity and Pardon for what hath been acted or done during these late Times, with such Qualifications as shall be fit for the Consideration of Parliament.

We shall here stop again a little to review the late Transactions of this Piece of Parliament, in a different Light from what the *Journals* shew them in; and a Piece, or Fagg End, of a Parliament they must be allowed to be, since their whole Number, when collected together, at the late Election of their Council of State, did not amount to more than 78 Persons: However, they must be allowed to have been hitherto very active and industrious, since, in the Space of one single Week, they seem to have fortified and barricaded themselves against all Attacks of their Enemies, both at home and abroad. But yet they were far from being thoroughly easy in their Stations; they had a Viper in their Bosoms of a most malignant Nature, the Bite of which they had great Occasion to dread; this was the Army, who, by their late Address to them, plainly shewed they thought themselves their Masters, and that they were raised, and sat where they did, only by their Power and Authority. But hear what Mr. *Ludlow* himself says on this Occasion; when, after giving

Inter-regnum,
1659.
May.

ving a particular Account of the Members who compos'd the Council of State, he proceeds to tell us, 'The Officers of the Army were not all pleas'd with this Election, perceiving they should not be permitted to act arbitrarily, as they desired, and therefore seldom came to the Council; and when they condescended to come, carried themselves with all imaginable Perverseness and Insolence. They scrupled to take the Oath *to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, in Opposition to Charles Stuart, or any Single Person*, which the Parliament had appointed to be taken by every Member of the Council before he took his Place: And because they were asham'd to own themselves dissatisfied with the Substance of the Oath, they pretended to be unwilling to take any; yet professing a Readiness to promise as much as the Oath required. This Distinction seem'd very nice to most of us; but that there might be no Difference about Ceremonies, the Parliament was prevail'd with to grant Liberty to the Council to alter the Engagement into such a Form as might give them Satisfaction. Notwithstanding all which Condescension they were hardly perswaded to take it; and when they had done it, they seldom came to discharge their Duty at the Board. Things being in this Posture, the Enemies of the Government thought it a proper Time to attempt something, before a good Agreement might be made between the Parliament and Army; in order to which great Numbers of Arms were bought up by them in *London*, whereof Notice was given to a Committee of the Council of State.'

May 16. Col. Sydenham, from a Committee, reported the Exigencies of the Army for Want of Pay, and the great Arrears now due to them. As it was the sole Interest of this Parliament to keep well with these Locusts, they immediately came to a Resolution to take effectual and speedy Care to pay off all Arrears due both to the Army and Navy; and to ascertain the better Payment of them for the future. In order to this it was refer'd to the same Committee

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

mittee to make Inquiry where, and in whose Hands, any Monies belonging to the Commonwealth are; and to require them forthwith to bring all such Sums into the Public Treasury.

‘Ordered, also, That *Whitehall* and *Somerset-House*, with all their Appurtenances, be forthwith exposed to Sale for the Advantage of the Commonwealth, and towards the Satisfaction of the great Arrears of Pay due to the Army.’

All this Time we hear no News what was become of *Richard Cromwell*; till this Day, we are told by the *Journals*, a Committee was appointed to take into Consideration the present Condition of the eldest Son of the late Lord General *Cromwell*; and to inform themselves what his Estate is, and what his Debts are, and how they had been contracted: Likewise how far he doth acquiesce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is now declared by Parliament; and to offer, upon the whole, what they conceive expedient, in his Behalf, to the House.

May 18. The strong Town of *Dunkirk* had now been in Possession of the *English* for some Time. It was taken from the *Spaniards* by the *French*; and, by Treaty, delivered to the *English* in the Time of *Oliver* the late Protector. *Lockhart*, the Governor of it, who was made one of *Cromwell's* Lords, had been sent to for his Recognition of the present Powers in Parliament; and this Day his Answer was reported to the House by Sir *Henry Vane*:

‘That my Lord *Lockhart* declares his Freedom, and promises his utmost Industry to maintain and defend *Dunkirk*, and the Forts thereupon depending, for the Commonwealth of *England*, till further Order from those that administer the said Commonwealth:

‘To keep the Officers and Soldiers thereof, as also of the three *English* Regiments now in the *French* Service, in due Obedience and Submission to the present Government, so long as he shall remain in Command over them:

To

* To deliver up the said Place and Forts, with all Things thereto belonging, to such Person or Persons as the said Supreme Power shall appoint, whensoever it shall be judged convenient so to dispose thereof.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

* Hoping this State will keep *Dunkirk*, wherein the Honour and Interest of *England* is so much concerned, he further promises, That if ever it be in Danger, in what other Condition soever he be, he will readily accure to its Defence, though only as a private Man, with a Musket on his Shoulder.

* He humbly desires that sufficient Ammunition may be forthwith supplied to that Place and Forts, together with Provisions for one whole Year; that, while the old is spending, the Magazines may be constantly replenished with new:

* That some fundamental Course may be taken to continue the Soldiers Subsistence, and keep up the Spirits of the Officers, with some Refreshment of Arrears at present, and Assurance of the rest in due Time, according to the Establishment made in *December* last.

* He will send the Accounts of the Garrison, with the just State of the Officers Arrears, whensoever demanded; together with his own Advances for paying the Soldiers, carrying on necessary Works, and recruiting the Horse; also his Engagements for furnishing the Garrison with Coats, Hay, Oats, &c.

* He makes it his earnest Request, that his Salary as Ambassador (run in Arrears to near upon 5000 *l.*) may be paid; his Debts, upon that Account, being very great, and his Credit almost sunk.

* For the better securing *Dunkirk*, and the Forts thereabout, from all Attempts during this Instability of Things, he hath prevailed that the three Regiments at *Amiens* may be placed in some French Quarters near *Dunkirk*. They were ordered to march towards *Flanders*, *Monday* the 1st of *May* Instant.

* The Truce for two Months between *France* and *Spain*, beginning the first of *May*; wherein
Dunkirk

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

Dunkirk is also comprized, (if the State of *England* pleases) he will observe till further Order.

‘*Lastly*, He humbly intreats that two Bills of Exchange he was lately forced to draw, to supply the Necessities of the Garrison, amounting to 1700*l.* may be discharged.’

‘Ordered, That the Consideration of this Report, for so much thereof as concerns the Safety and present Supply of the Garrison, be referred to the Council of State, to do therein as they shall think fit: And, for the Residue of the said Report, that it be also referred to the Council of State, to examine the Business, and to report their Opinion therein to this House.’

The same Day, also, a Letter from General *Monke*, and other Officers of the Army, in *Scotland*, was read in the House; when it was ordered, ‘That the Council of State, or any five of them, should prepare a Letter of good Acceptance and Thanks from this House, to be signed by the Speaker, in Answer to the said Letter from *Scotland*; which was ordered also to be printed and published. *Whitlocke* has preserved a Copy of this Letter, probably as a Testimony against *Monke* and his Army, for their Defection afterwards; but we shall give it in its own Words, as taken from a Pamphlet of those Times, printed by Authority of Parliament.

For the Honourable the Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, sitting at Westminster,

Right Honourable,

The first Letter from the Army in *Scotland*, under Gen. *Monke*, to the Parliament.

‘THAT a Nation may be born in a Day, is a Truth which this Day’s Experience witnesseth unto us against all the Dictates of human Reason; and that a glorious Cause, whose Interest was laid low, even in the Dust, should be in one Day restored to its Life and Lustre, when almost all the Assertors of it had so manifestly declined it, by a Defection of many Years, cannot be imputed to less than the greatest and most powerful Mani-
festan

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

' festation of the Arm of God, that ever they, or
 ' former Generations, saw or heard of. In the
 ' Sense of this, (the greatest of our Temporal Mer-
 ' cies) we now come to address to your Honours,
 ' as those whose Presence we have so long wanted,
 ' that had you staid but a little longer, it might have
 ' been left to be inquired what *England* was: We
 ' mean, what was become of that People, by whom
 ' God, for so many Years, filled the World with so
 ' much Admiration and Terror. But though this
 ' great Work be (as most justly it ought to be)
 ' wonderful in our Eyes; yet, when we consider its
 ' Author, who calls Things that are not as if they
 ' were, bringeth down to the Pit, and raiseth up
 ' again, we see that nothing is difficult to Faith,
 ' and the Promises of God are sure and stable, even
 ' then, when, in the Eye of Man, no less than im-
 ' possible. We cannot but acknowledge, to our ex-
 ' ceeding great Sorrow and Shame, that ourselves
 ' (tho' we hope most of us, through our Weakness
 ' and Frailty, not out of Design) have very much
 ' contributed to those Provocations, which have
 ' caused God to depart from our *Israel*. And we
 ' could heartily wish, that even amongst those that
 ' help to make up your own Number, there had not
 ' been an helping Hand to this sad and deplorable
 ' Work: But we see, when God's Hour is come,
 ' and the Time of his People's Deliverance, even
 ' the set Time at Hand, he cometh, skipping over
 ' all the Mountains of Sin and Unworthiness that
 ' we daily cast in his Way. We are not willing to
 ' detain your Honours too long upon this Subject,
 ' and therefore, beseeching the God of all Mercies
 ' to heal the Backslidings of his People, and not to
 ' charge unto their Account, in this his Day of their
 ' Deliverance, their Miscarriages, whilst they were
 ' wandering in dark and slippery Places, after the
 ' Imaginations of their own Hearts; we, with all
 ' Humility and Affection, in the first Place, con-
 ' gratulate you in this your happy Restoration to
 ' the Government of these Nations, which God was
 ' once pleased so to own in your Hands, as to
 ' make

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

‘ make you both the Praise and Wonder of the
 ‘ Earth, the Glory and Rejoicing of his People, and
 ‘ the Terror of your Adversaries ; and we acknow-
 ‘ ledge it a singular Condescension in you, in this
 ‘ Day of so great Difficulties, to take upon you so
 ‘ heavy a Burthen. And seeing his late Highness
 ‘ hath been pleased to manifest so much Self-denial
 ‘ and Love to his Country, in appearing for the
 ‘ Interest thereof against his own, we humbly
 ‘ intreat that some speedy Care may be taken for
 ‘ him and his Family, together with her Highness-
 ‘ Dowager, that there may be such a Provision
 ‘ settled upon them, and such other Dignities, as
 ‘ are suitable to the former great Services of that
 ‘ Family to these Nations.

‘ And, in the next Place, we cannot but humbly
 ‘ beseech you, now you have an Opportunity, than
 ‘ which your Hearts did never pray for, to finish
 ‘ the Work of Reformation that hath been so long
 ‘ upon the Wheel, and met with so great Obstruc-
 ‘ tions, that you would not heal the Wound of the
 ‘ Daughter of God’s People slightly, but make so
 ‘ sure and lasting Provision for both their Christian
 ‘ and Civil Rights, as that both this and future
 ‘ Generations may have Cause to rise up, and call
 ‘ you Blessed ; and the blackest of Designs may never
 ‘ be able to cast Dirt in your Faces any more :
 ‘ And, as helpful to these two great Concernments,
 ‘ Religion and Liberty, we humbly propose unto
 ‘ your mature Consideration these two Desires :

‘ *First*, That you would be pleased to counte-
 ‘ nance Godliness, and all the sincere Professors
 ‘ thereof ; encourage an able and laborious Mini-
 ‘ stry, and suffer no other Yoke to be imposed upon
 ‘ the Consciences of God’s People, than what may
 ‘ be agreeable to the Word of God ; and that you
 ‘ would be a Terror to all impious, profane, and
 ‘ licentious People whatsoever.

‘ *Secondly*, That you would so vindicate and assert
 ‘ the native Rights and Liberties of these Nations, in
 ‘ and by the Government of a Free State, that there
 ‘ may not be the Voice of an Oppressed-one in our
 ‘ Land ;

Inter-regnum,
1659.

May.

'Land; but that all may enjoy the blessed Fruits of
'your righteous and peaceable Government. And
'for the Prevention of all Possibility for ambitious
'Spirits ever to work their Ends against you, we
'humbly desire you to be very careful, as well what
'Persons you intrust with the Management of the
'Armies and Navies of this Commonwealth, as of
'the Measure of that Power and Authority you
'depart with to them, or substitute in them. Touch-
'ing the Qualifications of the Persons, we desire
'they may be truly godly and conscientious; touch-
'ing the Measure of their Authority, that it may be
'adequate to the Nature and Being of a Common-
'wealth.

'And whilst you are thus pleading and asserting
'the Interest of God and his People, you may rest
'assured, with greatest Confidence, that we shall
'appear in your Defence, and by the Vindication of
'your Authority, against the Opposition of all arbi-
'trary Powers whatsoever.

'And to that blessed and all-powerful God, who
is able to spirit you for this great Work, you are
and shall daily be recommended in the Prayers of

Your most loyal and most obedient Servants,

GEORGE MONKE,	P. CRISP,
THOMAS READE,	HENRY BRIGHTMAN,
RALPH COBBET,	PHILIP WATSON,
TIMOTHY WILKS,	THOMAS DEAN,
ROBERT READE,	JEREMIAH SMITH,
JOHN CLOBBERRY,	WILLIAM DAVIS,
ABRAHAM HOLMES,	JAMES WRIGHT,
HENRY DORNEY,	JOSEPH WALLINGTON,
DANIEL DAVISON,	WILLIAM HELLING,
RICHARD HEATH,	ETHELBERT MORGAN,
MR. RICHARDSON,	ROBERT WINTER,
J. HUBBELTHORN,	JOHN PADDON,
THOMAS JOHNSON,	ANTHONY NOWERS.

May 19. A Vote was passed this Day, to refer
to the Council of State the Consideration of How
Vol. XXI. D d far

Inter-regnum

1659.

May.

far this Commonwealth is concerned, either in Peace or War with foreign Nations, by the Transactions that have happened since the Interruption of this Parliament, *April 20, 1653*; and to take Care in what is done, from Time to Time, by the Council, in pursuance of their Instructions, in reference to foreign States; that this Commonwealth be not engaged in a War, without the Consent of Parliament.

The Act for settling a Council of State was read a third Time, with some Amendments; and, upon the Question, passed.

May 20. A Fast-Day was appointed to be kept in the House, on that Day Se'nnight; and that Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Adderley*, and Mr. *Griffith*, be desired to assist in carrying on the Work of Humiliation, and Prayer, and seeking the Lord for a Blessing upon the Councils of this House on that Day.

Ordered, That it be referred to a Committee to prepare a Declaration, to satisfy the Nation how Affairs stood with the Commonwealth, when this House was interrupted, and how Affairs stand at present; and a Committee was named accordingly.

May 21. The Business of the Army's Petition and Representation was this Day, and not before, debated in the House; it was first read altogether, and afterwards Paragraph by Paragraph; and every Article of it agreed to by the House, except the 9th, 13th, 14th, and 15th, of the Petition, which were referred to a grand Committee of the whole House.

May 23 and 24. Nothing done these two Days of any Moment, except giving Audience to a Dutch Ambassador in the House, in the same Form and Manner as before related, and before *Oliver* turned the Parliament out of Doors.

May 25. But what was acted by the Father, was, in some Measure, returned upon the Son; for this Day we find the following Entry made in the Journals:

Sir

* Sir Gilbert Pickering acquainted the House, That he and the Lord Chief Justice *St. John* did, according to the Command of this House, repair to the eldest Son of the late Lord-General *Cromwell*, and acquainted him with the Sense of this House touching his subscribing a Paper sent by him to the Committee, formerly appointed to communicate to him a Declaration and Order of this House: And that he did thereupon, in their Presence, sign the said Paper with his Name, which was as follows:

Inter-regnum.
1659.
May.

I Have perused the Resolve and Declaration, which you were pleased to deliver to me the other Night; and, for your Information touching what is mentioned in the said Resolve, I have caused a true State of my Debts to be transcribed, and annexed to this Paper; which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that Part of the Resolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themselves how far I do acquiesce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament, I trust my past Carriage hitherto hath manifested my Acquiescence in the Will and Disposition of God; and that I love and value the Peace of this Commonwealth much above my own Concernments: And I desire that by this a Measure of my future Deportment may be taken; which, through the Assistance of God, shall be such as shall bear the same Witness; having, I hope, in some Degree, learned rather to reverence and submit to the Hand of God, than to be unquiet under it: And, as to the late Providences that have fallen out amongst us, however, in respect of the particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a Change in the Government of these Nations; yet, through the Goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in it, being made; and do hold myself obliged (as, with other Men, I expect Protection from the present Government) so to demean myself with all Peaceableness under it,

D d 2

and

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

‘ and to procure, to the uttermost of my Power, that
 ‘ all in whom I have any Interest do the same.

RICHARD CROMWELL.’

His Debts and
 the Orders upon
 them.

By the Schedule annexed it appeared, that, on the Death of *Oliver*, his Father, there was due unto several Persons 28,000*l.* which he had reduced to 23,550*l.* but that there had been advanced for Cloathing of the Soldiers out of the Monies assign’d to the Family, 3700*l.* and borrowed by him, upon his Personal Security, for the Supply of *Dunkirk*, 6090*l.* which made the Total of his Debts amount to 29,640*l.*

His Real Estate, by the Schedule, appeared to be, after paying his Brother *Henry* 2001*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* on his Marriage, his Sister *Frances* 1200*l.* his Mother 2000*l.* and other Annuities, 818*l.* he had only remaining 1299*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* which was incumber’d with a Debt of 3000*l.* contracted by him in his Father’s Life-time, and yet unpaid.

The Parliament having read and considered the above Paper, wherein *Richard Cromwell* expressed his free Acquiescence in the present Government of these Nations; expecting, with other Men, Protection from the same; and holding himself obliged not only to demean himself with all Peaceableness under it, but to procure, to the utmost of his Power, that all in whom he had Interest do the same; they thereupon declared, that they accepted in good Part what was expressed in the said Paper; and, in Testimony thereof, put in Oblivion all Matters passed in reference to *Richard Cromwell*, and took upon them his just Debts, not exceeding the Sums contained in the above-mention’d Schedule, and thought it fit that he should retire from *Whitehall*, and dispose of himself as his private Occasions should require, demeaning himself peaceably under the Protection of the Parliament; and ordered that it be referred to the Committee for Inspection of the Treasury to consider in what Manner his Debts should

should be paid: They also resolved that 2000*l.* be forthwith advanced for his present Occasion; and that it be referred to a Committee to consider what was fit to be done as to a Settlement of a comfortable and honourable Subsistence upon him.

Inter-regnum.

1659

May.

May 26. Several Petitions, from Counties, were presented to the House; which, by the Answers to them, are supposed to be no more than Addresseees of Recognition of the Parliament's Sovereignty, and such, *mutatis mutandis*, as were carried to *Richard* but a few Months before.

The House had been also about a Bill for Commissioners for ordering and managing the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy; and this Day a Question was put, That the whole Number of them, nine, be Members of that House: On a Division, it passed in the Negative, 32 against 23. So it was agreed, That six of these Commissioners should be Members and the rest not. Commissioners for levying and bringing in the Arrears of the Customs, Excise and Prize-Goods, were also appointed.

May 27. This was their Fast-Day; when, besides praying and preaching in the House, there was little else of Moment done upon it. The Ministers had Thanks returned them for their great Pains-taking, &c.

This Month concluded without doing any more Business of Consequence; except on the three last Days of it, when the House went into a grand Committee on the remaining Articles of the Army's Petition and Address, and on the Bill of Indemnity and Oblivion, without coming to any Resolution about them.

It was also ordered, ' That Mr. Speaker do, every Morning, constantly take the Chair by Eight of the Clock; and that the Council of State and Committee of this House do forbear to sit in Council after Eight, and do then give their Attendance on the Service of this House. That the House do

The Parliamentary History

rise every Day at Twelve of the Clock ; no Motion to be made after that Time ; but the Speaker was hereby enjoined to rise.'

As all these last Affairs sufficiently explain themselves, there needs less connective History to do it after them, some Matters relating to foreign Transactions excepted. In the preceding Pages there is an Account that a *Dutch* Ambassador had had Audience of the Parliament, between whom and the Council of State a Treaty was set on Foot to maintain a good Correspondence between the two Commonwealths, in order that their different Fleets, now sent up into the Sound, might, by their Interposition, make an Agreement between the two Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* upon equitable Terms, or else to impose them upon the Refuser. This, Mr. *Ludlow* writes, they were in hopes to accomplish, the rather, because neither the *Dutch* nor they pretended to any more than a Freedom of passing and repassing the *Sound* ; which could not well be, if the Command of it was solely in the Hands of either of those Princes.

The *English* Fleet was large and well provided, and the Command of it given to Admiral *Montague*. It was fitted and sent out under *Richard's* Government ; but the Parliament had dispatched a Messenger, to acquaint the Admiral and the rest of the Officers with the Dissolution of the former, and the Restituion of the Parliament. Upon which the Officers assembled, and sent an Acknowledgment of their Authority, with all possible Demonstration of Satisfaction. Notwithstanding this, we find they equipped another smaller Fleet, under Pretence of preventing an Invasion from *Flanders*, from the Cavalier Party, and gave the Command of it to *Lawson*, as Vice-Admiral ; but it was, in Reality, to be a Check to *Montague*, and his Party in the Fleet ; who, *Ludlow* says, they all knew was no Friend to the Commonwealth. This Mark of Jealousy, and another, which the said Author elsewhere hints at, on General *Monke*, where he stiles him of an ambitious and covetous Temper ; of loose,

or

or rather no Principles, and of a vicious and scandalous Conversation, plainly shew, that the Parliament had set a Stamp on those two Persons at this Time, who proved such Instruments, afterwards, in the King's Restoration.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

May.

It will not be amiss to give the Reader a List of the whole Navy of *England* in those Days, the Names of the Ships and Captains, with the Number of their Men and Guns, in order to compare, if he pleases, with the State of the Navy in our own Time; considering this, that the Nation was then at Peace with all the World, except a slight War with *Spain*.

Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	A List of the Navy of <i>England</i> at this Time.
1	Nazeby, Swiftsure,	Roger Guttance, <i>Vice-Admiral</i> Godson,	500 382	80 64	
2	London, Dunbar, Triumph, Rainbow,	<i>Sir</i> Richard Stayner, Edward Blague, Robert Clarke, Anthony Young,	400 400 350 350	64 64 64 64	
3	Speaker, Gloucester, Plymouth, Newberry, Dorington, Bridgwater, Drogheda, Worcester, Lion, Indian, Essex,	Eustus Smith, William Whithorn, Edward Whithidge, Robert Blake, John Harman, Anthony Haning, Thomas Tindeman, Robert Nixon, John Lambert, Charles Wager, John Haward,	260 260 260 260 260 260 260 240 220 220 250	58 56 56 50 52 56 50 46 48 46 50	
4	Leopard, Newcastle, Winsby, Ruby, Centurion, Preston, Portsmouth, —, Assistance, Jersey, Advice, Nantwich, Elizabeth, Assurance, Adventure,	James Pool, Edmond Custis, Joseph Amos, Robert Kerby, Francis Parkes, Robert Robinson, Robert Suntum, Robert Blumleigh, Thomas Sparling, John Simond, Francis Allen, Barnard Gilpone, John Groneditch, Philip Holland, William Tuwell,	180 180 180 170 170 170 160 160 160 160 160 160 160 140 150	40 42 46 43 44 40 38 40 40 42 40 40 41 30 36	
		D d 4	4	Great	

Inter-regnum. 1659.	Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
Junc.	4	Great Charity,	— Keether,	170	40
		Maidstone,	Thomas Pencote,	160	36
		Elias,	Mark Hunson,	150	38
		Expedition,	Edmond Thompson,	130	38
	5	Tagons,	Richard Parkhead,	120	22
		Torcester,	Anthony Archer,	110	29
		Bradford,	Peter Bowen,	110	28
		Success,	Thomas Floor,	140	34

June. Some of the first Days of this Month seem to have been almost wholly taken up in debating a Bill, then before them, for an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion; but no Resolution yet made upon it. Two Plenipotentiaries (*d*) were appointed, and full Power given them to treat about, and conclude, a Peace between the two Northern Kings. The Custody of the Great Seal was given to the Serjeants *Bradshaw*, *Tyrrill*, and *Fountain*, as Commissioners, to the 20th of *October* next; but *Bradshaw* being, about this Time, fallen into a very ill State of Health, the House dispensed with his Attendance on the said Office. An Act was passed for making *Charles Fleetwood*, Esq; Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces in *England* and *Scotland*. The Clerks of the Council of State were ordered to write out Commissions for all the inferior Officers of the Army and Navy, to be sign'd by the Speaker, and delivered to the Colonels, &c. in the House. Lastly, the Parliament did resolve and declare, 'That the Continuance of this Parliament shall not exceed the 7th Day of *May*, 1660.'

June 8. Another State of the Public Debts was presented to the House by Col. *Downes*, from the Committee of Inspection, whereby it appeared that

The public
Debts again sta-
ted.

There was owing to the Land	}	l.	s.	d.
Forces of <i>England</i> , <i>Scotland</i> , and				
<i>Ireland</i> , to the 20th of <i>June</i> , 1659				
And to the Navy, to the 28th	}	600944	16	6
of <i>May</i> , 1659, inclusive				
		692640	0	0

That

(*d*). Col. *Algernon Sidney*, and Col. *Edward Montague*.

of ENGLAND.

425

That the growing Charge to the 1st of <i>December</i> , 1659, for the Land Forces, amounted to	}	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	Inter-regnum. 1659. June.
447236		12	8		
And for the Navy, to the same Time	}	607645	0	0	

Making in all	}	2348466	9	2

Towards the Discharge whereof the most that can be expected out of the Excise and Customs, estimated by six Months, ended the 28th of <i>May</i> last, and the Arrears thereof, will not exceed the Sum of	}	706492	9	11 $\frac{3}{4}$

So there will require to ba- lance, besides the Charge of Ships lately resolv'd by the Par- liament to be set forth	}	1641973	19	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

Ready Cash there is none.

So that, admitting there be, according to the present Order of the House, raised, by way of Assessment, upon the Three Nations, the Sum of	}	600000	0	0

There will yet rest to be pro- vided the Sum of	}	106492	9	11 $\frac{3}{4}$

Towards the raising which there was no Way in View to the Committee, but the Arrears of Prize Goods; Sale of such Forests as are not already engaged; Sale of the Remainder of Lands and Estates, forfeited to the Commonwealth for Treason, and of the Monies which might come in upon Discoveries, some whereof were already offered, viz. a Duty, or Rent-Charge, called Procurations and Synodals, formerly payable by Ministers to Archdeacons; Monies suggested to be due to the Commonwealth by the Sale of Lands formerly conveyed to Sir *Allen Apſley* by the late King, some Advantage pretended to the Commonwealth, by discovering Persons who have embezzled Prize Goods; and Estates of Delinquents, for which Savings were granted,

The Parliamentary HISTORY

granted, and which were not compounded for : Which Ways, or some of them, though they might in Time produce Monies, yet there could be no Expectation from them of a timely Supply for accommodating these pressing Occasions of the Commonwealth; and as it did not appear to the Committee that the Public Revenues of the three Nations, besides Customs, Excise, and Assessments, could produce above 150,000*l.* for the current Year, it was therefore offered to the Consideration of the House, by what other Ways Monies might be raised.

The same Day, according to former Order, the Speaker began to deliver out Commissions to the Officers of the Army and Navy; and a long List of Officers Names next follows, which must needs be so, when they are all mentioned, either on this or the succeeding Days, from a Lieutenant-General and Vice-Admiral, to the lowest Commission Officer in the Land or Sea Service. This Precaution, we are told, they took, as well to make these Officers own who were their Masters, as to secure them he more to their Interests, by giving away all these Commissions gratis, not so much as taking any thing for the Transcripts of them.

Another Letter
from General
Monke.

It was almost the whole Business of the House for some Days following, to give out these Commissions; but in the midst of them a Letter from Gen. *Monke* was read in the House. The Letter itself, not being entered in the *Journals*, we know not the Purport of; but by the Answer to it, which is there, we imagine it was to know what they were then doing with the Southern Army, for it was in these Words :

SIR,

Westminster, June 10, 1659.

‘ YOUR Letter was read in Parliament : It is
‘ true, the Parliament have under their Consi-
‘ deration the Officers of the Armies, it being of
‘ high Concernment for the Settlement of the Na-
‘ tions, to trust such as they are assured will be truly
‘ and

of ENGLAND.

427

Inter-regnum
1659.

June.

really faithful to the Parliament and Common-wealth. There hath been, in these late Changes, great Discoveries of Men; and peradventure such Things are known to the Parliament, that are not so to yourself. The Parliament hath commanded me to acquaint you, That they look upon yourself as their faithful Servant, and shall not forget your Fidelity: And be assured I am,
Sir,

Your affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM LENTHALL.

We shall leave this seeming artful Letter to the Reader's own Comment, and proceed. The *Journals* are now stuff'd full of Officers Names, and little or nothing else in them, except mere Petitions or Addresses, from different Places, with the Answers to them from the House. Judges were appointed to go the different Circuits; the Council of State were ordered to nominate such Persons, in different Counties, as were fit for Justices of the Peace, and then to apply to the Commissioners of the Great Seal for their Commissions. Some Embassadors and Envoys from foreign States had also Audience; which was all the Business of this Parliament, till

June 18. When the Bill for laying an Assessment or Tax upon the whole Nation, was read a third Time, and passed; immediately upon which a Committee was appointed to consider how, upon the Credit of this Bill, or any other Way, Money might be borrowed towards the present Pay of the Soldiery, and to treat with some monied Men of the City, or elsewhere, for that Purpose. Other Ways and Means were proposed; as ordering their Commissioners and Collectors of divers Duties to pay in their Arrears speedily; enforcing an old Act for the Sale of the Castles, Houses, Parks, Lands, and Hereditaments, belonging to the late King, Queen, or Prince, which, tho' exempted from Sale by a later Act, were now all ordered to be disposed of, and the Profits arising from the same to be reserved for the Use of the Commonwealth.

There

Inter-regnum.

1659.

June.

There appears to be a very great Want of Money at this Time; for this Day, *June 20*, Sir *Arthur Hasilrigge* reported from the Council of State, 'That they found the Commonwealth likely to be greatly inconvenienced for want of Monies, the Necessities both of the Army and Navy being very great, and the Weekly Income bearing no Proportion to the constant Charge: That there was not Money in the public Receipt of the Exchequer, sufficient to answer the Charge of sending the Plenipotentiaries to the *Sound*, notwithstanding great Arrears are in the Hands of particular Persons, due to the Government; therefore they desired the Parliament would please to take into their Consideration the speedy bringing in of all Monies due, and give such Orders therein as may be effectual.'

'Upon this Remonstrance from the Council, the Parliament resolved, 'That five Commissioners be appointed to manage the whole Revenue of the Commonwealth, and to take Care the same be duly brought in, and to give Allowances as they should see Cause. Four of these Commissioners to be Persons out of the House, and one within. Lastly, That it should be referred to the Council of State to draw up Instructions for these Commissioners for managing the Revenue; to consider of their Salaries, and to report all these to the House.'

This is all we can pick out of the *Journals* relative to the more public Transactions of this Month. The Bill of Indemnity was still on the Anvil; but it took a great deal of hammering Work before it could be brought to Perfection. *Ludlow* writes, 'That divers warm Motions were made for excepting some Persons from the Benefit of it, who had gotten great Estates by their Compliance with the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*, and abetting the Advancement of his Son: Likewise to except those who had sold Places, and got the Money for them. So that tho' the House was as desirous to dispatch this Bill as their Affairs would permit, yet the necessary Time spent in the Debate and Consideration of

of all these Particulars, was made use of to incense the Army against the Parliament.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

July.

July 1. This Month begins with the Bill of Indemnity again, which was debated, in a grand Committee, on the first Day of it; but no Resolution come to, but desiring Leave to sit again. They went on also with delivering out Commissions as usual; the Plenipotentiaries for the Northern Courts were also dispatched with their Letters of Credence; and *William Lockhart* Esq; Governor of *Dunkirk*, was made Agent, by the Parliament, to the Court of *France*.

July 4. Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, from the Council of State, reported the humble Opinion of that Council, 'That the Parliament would be pleased, by their Order, to exempt and secure the eldest Son of the late Lord-General *Cromwell*, for the Space of six Months, from all Arrests from any Debts; to the end some Course might, in the mean Time, be settled concerning the Payment of the said Debts, according to a Declaration of Parliament.' Which was agreed to, and an Order made accordingly.

A Question being put, That it should be referred to a Committee, to consider what was due for Mourning for the late Lord General *Cromwell*; and how the same might be paid, without Prejudice or Charge to the Commonwealth, the House divided into Noes 19, and Yeas 36; so a Committee was appointed for that Purpose.

Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* acquainted the House, That Col. *Henry Cromwell* was in Town, and attended to give them an Account of the Management of Affairs in *Ireland*. Hereupon it was ordered, That it should be referred to the Council of State to hear Col. *Henry Cromwell's* Relation as touching the Management of the said Affairs; and to do therein as they should think fit. By the same Order, Col. *Henry Cromwell* had Liberty given him to retire himself into the Country, where he should think proper, on his own Occasions; and he went into

The Parliamentary History

into *Cambridgeshire* (z), (probably to *Huntingdon*;) the Place where his Father was born) for that Purpose.

Here is such an Instance of a sudden Fall, of almost as suddenly raised Greatness, as scarce ever was heard or read of before. *Oliver*, that Tyrant of this Nation, and Bully to all the rest, was no sooner dead, than his very Funeral Expences were disputed the Payment of; and, indeed, never were paid. His eldest Son *Richard* outed of his Protectorship, and forced to have an Order of Parliament to secure him from Arrests; his youngest Son *Henry* recalled from his Lieutenancy in *Ireland*, dismiss'd, and sent to wander where he pleased; and all this in less than a Twelvemonth's Time.

July 5. The House read a third Time a Bill for settling the Militia of *London*. The Sale of *Hamp-ton-Court* was suspended till further Order; and *Ludlow* tells us, that *Somerset-House* was actually sold for 10,000 *l.* but we find, by the *Journals*, the Chapel there was ordered to be kept for the Use of the *French* Protestants. *Whitehall* was not yet disposed of; but ordered to be fitted for the Reception of the several Committees of Parliament, &c. The Site of it was valued at 60,000 *l.* for building on.

July 7. The House resolved, 'That, for eight Days then next ensuing, no Business should be meddled with but the Act of Indemnity, settling Militias, and raising Monies.—A Bill pass'd for appointing Commissioners for managing the Affairs of *Ireland*; and a Question being put, That Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* be one of these Commissioners; it passed in the Negative, 26 against 22 (a).

July 8. On this Day, according to Order, the Amendments to the Bill of Indemnity were reported; and

(z) *Mercurius Politicus*, July, 1659.

(a) This Vote too much concerning Mr. *Ludlow*, he passes it over in Silence in his Memoirs.

and, after much Debate on several Clauses and Provisions being offered, the Bill, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed.

Inter-regnum,

1659.

July.

July 9. The House began with sending out the Judges with Commissions and Instructions to keep the Summer-Assizes in different Counties: And then proceeded with delivering out Commissions to Officers, as before; and this Day they ordered, That their own Life-Guard, which they had ever since they sat, should be reduced to one Troop of 120 Horse, at 3s. *per Diem* each Man, over whom proper Officers were then appointed.—— Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* received his Commission as Commander in Chief over all the Forces in *Ireland*; and when he had put the Affairs there in good Order, Leave was given him to come back to *England*, and settle his private Concerns at home.

This Gentleman, in his Memoirs, acquaints us with this Preferment; and, on his preparing for his Journey to *Ireland*, he gives an Account of his taking Leave of his Friends here, which is too remarkable to be omitted, and we shall insert it in his own Words:

‘ And now I began to think it Time to hasten my Journey to *Ireland*, where my Station was assigned to me for some Time; and, in order to my Departure, I received four Commissions from the Hands of the Speaker, as the Parliament had directed. By the first I was appointed Commander in Chief of all the Forces in *Ireland*; the second was for a Regiment of Horse; the third was for a Regiment of Foot, and by the fourth I was made Lieutenant-General of the Horse: Which last Commission being read before the Committee of Nominations by Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, who, in this whole Affair of regulating the Army, had served the Parliament for Secretary without any Salary, Col. *Desborough* desired that it might be explained how far it should extend, suspecting that it might intrench upon

Inter-regnum.
1659.

July.

upon the Command of the Horse in *England* and *Scotland*, which some thought he designed for himself. But Sir *Arthur Haslrigge*, declined to give him any other Answer, than that it was well enough. In this Commission a Clause was inserted, which had been omitted in the other three, because not thought of before, requiring me to obey not only such Orders as I should receive from the Parliament and Council of State, but also all such as should be signified to me, from Time to Time, from the Commissioners of the Parliament for the Affairs of *Ireland*. This I was so far from disliking, that I procured another Order to be made, that the Pay of the Army should be issued out by the Commissioners; and that no Money, except only for Contingencies, should be issued out by the Commander in Chief.

Having prepared myself for my Journey, I took Leave of the principal Officers of the Army; and, on that Occasion, most earnestly requested of Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Major-General *Lambert*, Col. *Disborough*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Bury*, and others, that, as they valued the Good of the Public and their own Safety, they would be careful not to violate the Authority of the Parliament; who, I persuaded myself, were more ready to do any thing that might tend to the Preservation of our Liberties, than we were to ask it: And, at my parting with Sir *Arthur Haslrigge*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Mr. *Henry Nevill*, Mr. *Scott*, Major *Salway*, and the rest of my good Friends that were Members of the Parliament, I took the Liberty to beg of them not to put any unnecessary Hardships upon those of the Army; but rather to gratify them in whatsoever they could; that is, after all the Condescensions and Favours of the Parliament to them, they should be so unjust and ungrateful as to offer Violence to the House; they might be left inexorable in the Sight of God and Men.

We shall take Leave of Mr. *Ludlow*, till his Return from *Ireland*, with observing, That this strict Command

Commonwealth's-Man did not act without Self Interest, or serve the State without any lucrative Views to himself, as he would have us to believe by many Hints in his Memoirs; since, on his going away this Time, he received from the Hands of the Speaker, in the House, a Commission to be Lieutenant-General of Horse, and Commander in Chief of the Forces, raised and to be raised, in *Ireland*; a Commission to be Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Captain of a Company of Foot in the said Regiment; and also another Commission to be Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and Captain of a Troop of Horse in the same Regiment, the Pay of all which must amount to a very great Sum.—But to proceed:

Inter-regnum.
1659.
July.

The 11th and 12th Days of this Month were wholly taken up in debating the Indemnity Bill, and Abundance of Provisoes were offered to it, some of which were taken, and others, on the Question, rejected. Till, on the latter of these Days, the Bill, so amended, being read a third Time, and put to the Question, passed, and was ordered to be printed and published.

The Bill of Indemnity passed.

It is Pity we have no Copy of this extraordinary Act of Grace left us, which took so much dressing up, and bringing to Perfection. We presume it was tols'd up and chang'd like a *French Dish*, till no one could tell what to make of it; the Heads of the numerous Provisoes in the *Journals*, offered and added, importing no less. By one of these Provisoes, which was taken into the Bill, all the Royal Party were entirely cut out from making any Benefit of it: For, by this, it was enacted, 'That no Person, who should claim or demand Benefit of Indemnity, or Pardon, by Virtue of this Act, be admitted thereto, untill it appear to such Person or Persons, before whom such Claim or Demand is made, that the said Person, so claiming, hath made and subscribed, or shall then subscribe, this Declaration following:

I do declare, That, thro' the Assistance of Almighty God, I will be true, faithful, and constant to this
VOL. XXI. E e Com-

Inter regnum.
1659.

Commonwealth, without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers.

July.

After the finishing of this last tedious Affair, there is little to be pick'd out of the *Journals*, except their going upon Bills for settling Militias in divers Places; giving Audience to an Ambassador from the Queen of *Portugal*; authorizing the Council to take up some suspicious Persons; and issuing out a Proclamation, prohibiting all Horse-Races, Cock-Matches, Bull-Baitings, Out Hurlings, public Wrestlings, and other Meetings of such like Nature, till the 1st of *October* next.

The Parliament had appointed a Committee to inquire into the State of *Richard Cromwell*, to whom they yet paid some Regard; for we find, by the *Journals* of this Day, *July* 16, that Colonel *Jones* reported from the Committee appointed to consider what was fit to be done for the Settlement of a comfortable and honourable Subsistence for *Richard Cromwell*, that they were of Opinion, that the present clear yearly Revenue of *Richard Cromwell*, (which, according to the Schedule presented to Parliament, amounts to 1299 *l.* 12 *s.* 4 *d.* over and above the Jointure and Annuities mentioned in the said Schedule) be made up unto him 10,000 *l.* per *Ann.* during his Life: And, in order thereto, that the Sum of 8700 *l.* per *Ann.* be settled upon the said *Richard Cromwell* during his Life, to be issued and paid to him Monthly, by equal Portions, out of the Revenue of the Letter or Packet-Office; and that the whole Revenue of the said Office be charged with the Payment thereof: That Lands of Inheritance, of the Value of 5000 *l.* per *Ann.* of the Lands in the Disposal of the Commonwealth of *England* and *Ireland*, be settled upon the said *Richard* and his Heirs, in Fee: That when the said *Richard* shall be in actual Possession of the said Lands of Inheritance, that then the Sum of 5000 *l.* per *Ann.* Part of the foresaid 8700 *l.* per *Ann.* charged on the Packet Office as aforesaid, be abated, and the said Office

Office discharged thereof for the future : That the first Monthly Payment be made unto the said *Richard* upon the 6th Day of *June*, 1659, commencing from the 6th Day of *May* last ; and that the said Monthly Payments continue to be made every 6th Day of every Month for the future : That as the Jointures and Annuities in the foresaid Schedule mentioned shall abate, by the Decease of any of the respective Persons to whom the same are respectively payable, whereby the Income of the said *Richard Cromwell* shall be increased, the said yearly Charge of 8700 *l.* be proportionably abated.

Inter-
1659
July

Then it was resolved, ' That the Debt stated, and undertaken to be paid by the Parliament for *Richard Cromwell*, be 29,640 *l.* which was ordered to be satisfied by the Sale of the Plate, Hangings, Goods, and Furniture in *Whitehall* and *Hampton-Court*, belonging to the State, which (as the *Journals* say) may be conveniently spared ; and the Committee were ordered to examine what Goods in *Whitehall*, *Hampton-Court*, &c. belonged to the State, and what were bought with the State's Money ; and that they bring in an Act for the Sale of the said Plate, &c. in *Whitehall* and *Hampton-Court* : And it was referred to the said Committee to take a true Survey of the Manors and Lands of the said *Richard Cromwell* ; and to report the true Value thereof, together with the Act for the Sale of the Plate and Goods on *Thursday* Morning next.'

Then it was also resolved, ' That the said *Richard Cromwell* be absolutely discharged from the Payment of the said Debt of 29,640 *l.* and from all Actions, Suits, or Demands on account thereof ; and that the State will satisfy the Persons to whom the same is due.'

About this Time we find, by the Entries in the *Journals*, that the Parliament began to be alarmed with the breaking out of some Plot, or an Insurrection. The first Notice given of it is the Hint before-mentioned, That the Council of State had taken up

Inter-regnum.
1659.

July.

some suspected Persons ; which the Parliament approved of. Next, we find Orders were given to raise six Troops of Horse within the City of *London* ; and a Notification made to the Citizens, That the Parliament expected the Magistrates and other good People of the City would give all Encouragement and Furtherance to what might conduce to the Safety and Good of this Commonwealth, in this Time of imminent Danger.

But we hear no more of this Plot for some Time ; in the mean while the *Journals* are filled with nothing but the Names of Officers of the Army and Militia, who received their Commissions from the Parliament. The famous President *Bradshaw* was so well recovered of his late Illness as to appear in the House, take the Oath appointed for a Keeper of the Great Seal, and accept of that Office.

The public
venue stated.

Re- July 28. Sir *Henry Vane* reported, from the Council of State, the State of the Revenue as it then stood within View, for the present Pay of the Armies and Navies of the Commonwealth, unto the 1st of *December*, 1659 ; which was read as follows :

	l.	s.	d.
To pay off the Army in <i>Eng-</i> <i>land</i> , including their Increase of Numbers and their additional Pay, amounts to 33038 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> a Month, for four Months ; which, with the two Months Pay already assigned to the said Forces out of the twelve Months Assessment, makes up six Months Pay, and comes to	198230	16	0
The Pay of the Army in <i>Ire-</i> <i>land</i> for six Months, being esti- mated at 25607 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> a Month, amounts to	153647	16	0
The Pay of the Army in <i>Scot-</i> <i>land</i> for six Months, at 20818 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> the Month, amounts to	124912	5	0
			Re-

of ENGLAND.

437

Remains to be applied to the
Navy, which will balance this
Account

}	503941 18 10	Inter-regnum. 1659.
		July.
	980732 15 10	

The Monies for the Navies will thus arise:

Out of the Assessments upon
England } 167977 18 10

By growing Customs, if conti-
nued till the first of *December*
next, estimated at } 130000 0 0

By the growing Excise in *Eng-
land*, if continued till the first of
December next, estimated at } 205964 0 0

503941 18 10

The next Assessment of *Eng-
land* for twelve Months, com-
mencing *June* 24, 1659 } 411768 15 10

The Custom for *England*, in
case they be continued as now
they are, (but, in case they expire
the first of *October*, then there
must be a proportionable Defal-
cation to be consider'd) estimated
at } 130000 0 0

The Excise for *England*, in
case it be continued as now com-
puted at, to the first of *Decem-
ber*; but, if it expire the first
of *October*, then there must be a
proportionable Defalcation to be
considered } 205964 0 0

The twelve Months Assess-
ment for *Ireland*, at 9000 *l.* a
Month, commencing *June* 24,
1659 } 108000 0 0

The Excise and Customs for
Ireland, if continued till the first
of *December* } 28000 0 0

E c 3

The

Inter-regnum.

1659.

July,

The twelve Months for Scotland, at 6000 l. a Month, commencing June 24, 1659

72000 0 0

The Excise and Customs for Scotland, if continued till the first of December, 1659; otherwise a proportionable Defalcation must be had

25000 0 0

 980732 1 10

Memorandum, That neither the Revenue, which comes into the Exchequer by Delinquents and Papists Estates, by Post-Fines, Post-Office, Wine-Licences, Sheriffs Accompts, and other ways; the Arrears of Farms of Excise, the Monies arising by Sale of *Somerset-House*, and other Lands, are not included in this Account; but are to be considered towards the Council's Contingencies, *Dunkirk*, the Payment of those Warrants which are charged upon the Farmers of Excise of Beer and Ale, and upon the new Buildings, and are not yet satisfied, the Militia Troops, and foreign Negotiations.

He also reported an Estimate of the Arrears of the Army and Navy to the 1st of December, 1659; which was read as follows:

There is due in Arrear to the Treasurers at War, of the Money charged by Warrants on the Farms of Excise and new Buildings, the Sum of

52747 16 7½

The Pay of the Army in England, including their additional Pay and Increase of Numbers, over and above the Sum of 188631 l. 5 s. 1 d. required to pay them up to the 18th of July 1659, will, for five Months, ending the 5th of December, 1659, amount to

165192 6 8

of ENGLAND.

439

Inter-regnum.

1659.

July.

The Pay of the Army in *Scotland*, over and above the Sum of 166549 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* being eight Months Arrear unto the 18th of *July*, 1659, will, for five Months to wit, from the said 18th of *July* to the 5th of *December*, 1659, amount to

104093 10 10

The Pay of the Army in *Ireland*, over and above the Sum of 332903 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* being thirteen Months Arrears, estimated to the 18th of *July*, 1659, will, for five Months, to wit, from the said 18th of *July* to the 5th of *December*, 1659, amount to

128039 16 8

The Debts of the Navy, to the 1st of *July* Inst. estimated at

703703 16 9

The growing Charge of the Navy, it continued to the Force and Number of Shipping they now are, untill the 1st of *December* next, estimated at

549490 0 0

1703267 7 6½

Allowed for the Pay of the Forces in *England*, out of the twelve Months Assessement in *England*, commencing *July* 24, 1659

198230 16 0

Allowed for the Pay of the Forces in *Ireland*, viz.

Their own Assessements } 108000 0 0

Out of the Assessements of *England* } 17647 16 0

Out of the Customs and Excise for *Ireland* } 28000 0 0

In all, the Sum of 153647 16 0

E e 4

Al-

The

Inter-re num.
1659.

July.

Allowed for the Pay of the
Forces in *Scotland*, viz.The Assess- } 72000 0 0
ments in *Scotland*Out of the As- } 27912 5 0
sessments in *Eng-
land*The Customs } 25000 0 0
and Excise in
Scotland

In all, the Sum of ——— 124912 5 0

Allowed to the Navy, out of }
the twelve Months Assessment } 167977 18 10
upon *England*Allowed out of the Customs } 130000 0 0
of *England*Allowed out of the growing } 205964 0 0
Excise of *England*—————
980732 15 10
—————Remains to balance this Ac- }
compt, and to be provided } 722534 11 8½

Then it was resolved, 'That it be referred to the Council of State to take Care how the Affairs of the Armies, Navy, Incidents, and Contingencies may be equally distributed out of the Monies already in Arrear, so as may best consist with the Public Service;' and it was referred to the Council of State to consider of the foregoing Estimate; and what they find wanting therein of the Debts owing by the Commonwealth to the Army and Navy, or otherwise, and present the same to the Parliament the next Morning; when the Debate was ordered to be taken up.

On the last Days of this Month we have some further Intimation of the Plot, by some Persons of Distinction being apprehended, and others sought after. A Proclamation was published against *John Alderdant*, Esq; Son to the late Earl of *Peterborough*,
sum-

Summoning him to render himself to Parliament. Major *Salway* reported to the House, from the Council of State, That they had received Information of a Rising in *Herefordshire*, and of some Persons being taken Prisoners there. By other Intelligence, also, the Council had caused Lady *Mary Howard*, Daughter to the Earl of *Berkshire*, and Mrs. *Sumpner*, to be apprehended, and had committed them, in order to their Trial. The House approved of the Commitment of these Ladies; and appointed a Committee to consider how, and in what Manner, they might be brought to a speedy Trial; and all the Gentlemen of the Long Robe to be of this Committee (f). Six Troops of Dragoons were ordered to be forthwith raised and mounted, out of the several Regiments of Foot in the City of *London*.

Inter-regnum:
1559.

August.

August. This is all the Intimation the *Journals* give, as to a designed Insurrection, which about this Time actually happened under Sir *George Booth*, in *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*. Little of the Affair is entered in the *Journals*; it is said, indeed, that a good many Letters of Intelligence, from *Gloucester*, *Chester Castle*, *Marple*, *Hereford*, &c. were communicated by the Council of State to the House; but none of their Contents are given.

August 6. This Day, also, Care was taken by the House to provide Prisons for the great Number of Persons which were daily brought up to Town. These were only suspected, and not actually engaged in the Affair; but an Order was made for the President of the Council of State, by Warrant under his own Hand and the Seal of Council, to commit any of them, that were so brought up, for a Fortnight's Time. The House also ordered fourteen Regiments of Foot, consisting of 1000 Men each, to be forthwith raised, as a Guard to the respective Counties where they were to be enlisted.

August

(f) They were never brought to any Trial: But Mr. *Whitlocke* says he did this Lady *Mary Howard* great Service in the Council, which was ill requited by her and Father afterwards.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

August 9. This Day Sir *James Harrington* reported, from the Council of State, That it be humbly offer'd to the Parliament, that, by Intelligence which the Council received Yesterday, and by Examinations taken last Night by the Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, it doth appear, that there is a Design carrying on in the City of *London*, to the Disturbance of the Public Peace, and in Favour, as is to be suspected, of the late Insurrection and Rebellion in *Cheshire*, and those Parts; and, for this Purpose, the very Time and Place of Rising in this City, as also the Word which is to be given, are agreed upon; and, unless prevented, the Time is to be this Evening at Five of the Clock: That, as well by Letters as Messengers express, that are come out of *Cheshire*, the Council hath certain Information that *Charles Stuart*, by the Name of *Charles* the Second, hath been proclaim'd at *Wrexham*, a Market-Town, and other Places near *Chester*; and that many of the Cavaliers in the first War are joined with Sir *George Booth* in the late Insurrection; and do already fall to their wonted profane Courses of drinking Healths openly to *Charles Stuart* upon their bare Knees, and declare themselves in the Principles of the old Cavaliers, whatever other Disguises for the present are put upon their Design, to the misguiding of many good People: The Council do therefore humbly offer to the Parliament, that, by some declaratory Votes of their forthwith to be published, the good People of these Nations, and in the City of *London*, may be undeceived, and be warned of the Danger of adhering unto, or abetting, the said Insurrections, and be encouraged to shew their good Affections to this Commonwealth in suppressing the same.

'Resolved, That Col. *Randolph Egerton*, *Robert Werden*, Sir *George Booth*, and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, being now in Arms against the Parliament and Commonwealth, and all their Adherents and Partakers, are Rebels and Traitors to this Commonwealth, and shall be proceeded against as Rebels and Traitors; and a Proclamation was ordered out accordingly.

August

August 20. To make an End of this Affair, this Day a Messenger was sent by General *Lambert*, to acquaint the House with the Success the Lord had given their Forces in *Cheshire*, by a total Rout of the Enemy.

Inter regnum.

1659.

August.

August 22. The next Day of their Sitting, several more Letters were read in the House, particularly one from *Lambert* himself, with a Confirmation of his Victory; for which the Thanks of the House were ordered to be sent him for his great Service at this Time. These Letters are printed in a Pamphlet of those Times, and we give them from that Authority (g). And first Lord *Lambert's* Letter:

The *Cheshire* Insurrection suppressed by *Lambert*.

The Lord LAMBERT's Letter to the Right Hon. the Speaker of the Parliament.

S I R,

Chester, August 21, 1659.

Being, according to those Resolutions I last acquainted you with, upon our March towards *Chester*, we were met by two Persons from that City, who were instructed to offer some Terms of Surrender thereof; I suppose upon Fear, lest the Town should become a Prey to the Soldiers. Having heard what they had to say, I called together divers of the Officers, and acquainted them therewith, who advised me to this Answer: That if they would set open their Gates on the Morrow by Ten o'Clock, submitting themselves wholly to the Parliament, and receive in such Forces as should be appointed, I would engage that no Soldier, by Violence, should take any thing from them. And, lastly, That I would attend for their Answer till Eight o'Clock the next Morning, without any further Action. Whereupon the Enemy finding themselves incapable to stand upon their own Defence, and the City declining all further Assistance, that Night, in Confusion and small Parties, they left the Town; and, about Ten o'Clock,

finding

(g) London, printed by *Thomas Newcomb*, over-against *Bainard's Castle* in *Thomas-street*, 1659.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

' finding the Gates open, we marched in with one
 ' Regiment of Foot, and two Troops of Horse.
 ' Upon my March thither, I met with two Inhabi-
 ' tants from *Liverpool*, and one Mr. *Brown*, who
 ' had formerly been in your Service; who, upon
 ' the Rout of the Enemy, got some Well-affected
 ' together, and took divers Prisoners of the routed
 ' Forces, which had fled that Way. They inform
 ' me that that Town hath continued very faithful to
 ' your Service, and that the Governor appointed by
 ' the Enemy did assure them, before-hand, That he
 ' would keep that Place for your Service, and hath
 ' now declared for you. Before I had this Informa-
 ' tion, I sent Major *Hoare* with three Companies
 ' of Foot, of Col. *Hewson's* Regiments, and three
 ' Troops of Horse, to reduce that Place, whom I
 ' have ordered, notwithstanding this, to proceed
 ' according to his former Instructions; and having
 ' secured that Place, by putting in some of his Men,
 ' to march up to a Conjunction with the rest of that
 ' Regiment in *Lancashire*, in case they should meet
 ' with any Opposition there. It is the earnest De-
 ' sire of those Persons that the Castle may be demo-
 ' lished, which I humbly conceive may be for your
 ' Service, and pray your Directions therein. I have
 ' sent a Summons to *Harding* Castle, which I hope
 ' will be delivered. It is likewise the Desire of some
 ' of the Well-affected in these Parts, that that Castle
 ' may be demolished, which I likewise submit to
 ' your Consideration. Sir *Thomas Middleton* Ye-
 ' sterday passed over the Ferry at *Ronckborne*, and
 ' came to this Town; and, as I am informed, is
 ' gone to *Chirk* Castle. I have sent thither a Sum-
 ' mons, and have accompanied it with three Troops
 ' of Horse and four Companies of Foot, under the
 ' Command of Col. *Biscoe*, and intend (if it please
 ' God to give a Blessing to your Forces gone into
 ' *Lancashire*) to go thither myself To-morrow; I
 ' doubt not but the Insurrection in these Parts will
 ' be wholly broken.

' I have no more at present worthy your Know-
 ' ledge; and therefore shall only, on their Behalf,
 ' desire

of ENGLAND.

'desire that the Forces may be supplied with some
'Proportion of Pay, whereof, at this Time, they
'stand in great Need. Sir, I shall humbly subscribe
'myself

445
Inter-regnum.
1659.
August.

Your most faithful

and most humble Servant,

J. LAMBERT.

*The Lord LAMBERT'S LETTER to the Right Hon.
the Lord President of the Council of State.*

My Lord, Chester, August 21, 1659.

'I Take the Freedom to refer your Lordship to
'mine to the Parliament of the 21st Instant, for
'an Account of our Proceedings with the City of
'Chester, which is now possessed by your Forces.
'I find this City hath shewn itself very malignant,
'and those few Friends you have are in great Ex-
'pectations that you will put the Power of this
'Place, as well Civil as Military, into such Hands
'as may be faithful to you, and a Security and Pro-
'tection to them; in which I humbly offer that
'some effectual Course may be speedily taken. If
'there be any thing in these Parts which may re-
'quire my further Service and Attendance, I shall
'desire your speedy Commands therein, which shall
'be most readily observed by

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

humble Servant,

J. LAMBERT.

*The Governor of Shrewsbury's Letter to the Right
Hon. the Lord President of the Council of State.*

Shrewsbury, Aug. 21, 1659,

Right Honourable,

Ten at Night.

'NO sooner was the Post gone hence Yester-
'day, but a Party of my Troop returned
'from my Lord Lambert, who went to convoy him
'some

Inter. regnum.

1559.

August.

‘ some Money from this Town, and were present
 ‘ in the Fight about *Northwich*, and gave me Assu-
 ‘ rance that my Lord had dispatched away an Ex-
 ‘ press to your Honour, with an Account of that
 ‘ Affair, to which I humbly refer your Honour.
 ‘ Just now the Messenger, that I sent your Letter
 ‘ by, directed to Col. *Croxton*, this Day Fortnight,
 ‘ returned back, who came forth of *Chester* last
 ‘ Night at Ten of the Clock; and before he left the
 ‘ City, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, the Lord *Kilmorrey*,
 ‘ with other Gentlemen, with five Colours of Horse,
 ‘ made no small Haste to *Chirk* Castle from *Chester*.
 ‘ The Foot that were in the Town mutinied, threw
 ‘ open the Gates, tore their Colours, and Sir *George*
 ‘ *Booth* fled out of the North Gate; they only kept
 ‘ a slight Guard at the Gates, being drawn from
 ‘ the other Guards in Confusion, and left them in
 ‘ the Castle to their own Liberty. He assures me,
 ‘ when he came from thence, the Enemy were re-
 ‘ solved to shift for themselves; I hold it my Duty
 ‘ to hasten this Account. I have sent the Horse
 ‘ from this Garrison, since Yesterday Noon, who are
 ‘ not yet returned. By the Letter I received from
 ‘ my Lord *Lambert* this Day, for Cover to one,
 ‘ which I dispatched from him to Col. *Zankey*, I
 ‘ was given to know, That he had divided his Army,
 ‘ and intended to march one Part towards *Chester*,
 ‘ the other for *Warrington*. Just now at Writing,
 ‘ a Boy of this Town, now fled home, confesseth,
 ‘ he was under one Capt. *Shenton*, who dismiss’d
 ‘ his Company last Night at *Chester*, and bade them
 ‘ shift for themselves. I crave your Favour for my
 ‘ rude Lines, remaining engaged to serve you.’

EDMUND WARINGF.

Soon after *Chester* and *Liverpool*, and some other
 Places the Insurgents had taken, were delivered up
 to the Parliament; *Lambert* had 1000 *l.* ordered
 to buy him a Jewel; and thus this Attempt was
 quash’d, the Parliament being rendered more strong
 and formidable by it than ever. And, as in all these
 unsuccessful Affairs, the whole Nation is to pay for
 the

the Faults of a few, so this Government thought proper to order in a Bill for laying on an Assessment of 20,000 *l.* a Month, to continue for one Year, and a Committee was appointed for that Purpose.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

August.

Besides the afore-mentioned Affair, the House had been busy in canvassing two great Bills; the one was for uniting *Scotland* with *England* (*b*); and the other for settling the Government of these Three Nations on so solid a Basis that it should be immoveable. The Parliament, in grand Committees, had debated both these Affairs for several Days, this Month, without coming to any Resolution in either of them; except that, in the Debate on the Government, they one Day ordered, That Mr. *Scobell*, late Clerk, should search for a former ingrossed Act for a new Representative of the People, which was passed in one of *Oliver's* Parliaments (*i*): By which we may guess they were going to form Elections on the like Model.

August 23. But, to make the best of the late great Victory, the Parliament first began with ordering a Declaration to be drawn and put forth, to invite all the good People of these Three Nations, as God shall set it upon their Hearts, to give Thanks to the Lord for his unspeakable Mercy for this great Deliverance wrought out by his mighty Arm for the Parliament and Commonwealth, and in overthrowing the Forces, and defeating the Designs, of their Enemies.

The same Day they ordered the Bill for laying the Tax afore-mentioned, on the Three Nations, to be brought in the next Morning: And read a Bill twice, intituled, *An Act for seizing and sequestering the Estates of the Persons concerned in the late Rebellion*, and committed it.

The same Day also an Account was brought to the House of the taking of Sir *George Booth*, at *Newport-Pagnel*, the Night before, who committed him close Prisoner to the *Tower* for High Treason, in levying War against the Parliament and Commonwealth;

(*b*) *Whitlocke* tells us, That he brought in this the 30th of *July*.

(*i*) See the List of Parliament, 1654, Vol. XX. p. 297.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

August.

The Bill for sequestrating the Estates of the late insurgents passed.

monwealth ; no one to be suffered to speak to him ; and to be debarred the Use of Pen, Ink, and Paper. Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* and Sir *Henry Vane* were ordered to go forthwith and examine Sir *George Booth* on the late Conspiracy.

August 27. The Bill, called *An Act for Sequestration*, was read a third Time, and some Amendments made to it, particularly one, That the Time for sequestering of Persons, for abetting, aiding, contributing, or assisting of *Charles Stuart*, shall be from 1684. Which Bill, so amended, being put to the Question, passed ; and it was ordered to be printed, published, and sent into the several Counties of the Commonwealth.

An Embassador from the King of *France* had public Audience in the Parliament House, and was conducted to and from it, besides their Master of Ceremonies, Sir *William Fleming*, by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Salisbury*, the only two apostatizing Peers that sat as Commoners in the Other House.

As this Month began, so it ended, with the Debates on the Bill for regulating the present Government, in a grand Committee, without coming to any Resolution, except desiring Leave to sit again on this Business, on that Day de'nnight.

The Affair of the Union also hung as it did : A Bill was likewise brought in for the abolishing of Tythes, which was back'd by many Petitions for that Purpose ; but the House being puzzled to know how to provide for their Ministers, or allow Impropriators an Equivalent for the Tythes, came to this Resolution :

'That, for the Encouragement of a Godly-preaching learned Ministry throughout the Nation, the Payment of Tythes shall continue as now they are ; unless this Parliament shall find out some other more equal and comfortable Maintenance, both for the Ministry and Satisfaction of the People.'

The Authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, being now fully established

and recognized at Home by many Addressees, and Abroad by several Envoys and Embassadors, sent from foreign States and Princes; the banished Royal Family driven, like Scape-Goats, from Place to Place, to seek for Residence: and their Party here so discouraged and subdued, by the late unsuccessful Attempt, as never to think of venturing their Lives and Estates again on so hopeless a Project: We say, all these Things considered, who could, at that Time, foresee the great Change that a few more Months brought about; or take Notice of the invisible Hand of Providence, which steer'd an injured King to the Throne of his Ancestors, without any more Blood being spilt about it? We beg our Readers, therefore, to see, and attend, how these mighty Things came to pass.

Inter-regnum.
1659.
September.

September 1. This Month began with reading the Assessment Bill a second Time in the House; but they thought fit now to lower the Tax to 100,000 *l.* per *Mensem*, upon *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and, on the Question, voted it to continue one Year, and committed the Bill.—They next proceeded to nominate Commission-Officers for regulating the Militia, in the respective Counties of *England*; and the Establishment of Pay for the said Officers, was appointed as follows:

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For a Captain	100	00	00
Lieutenant	50	00	00
Cornet	25	00	00
Quarter-Master	13	10	00
One Trumpeter, above Soldier's Pay	05	10	00
Three Corporals, each forty Shillings above Soldier's Pay.	06	00	00
Fifty Soldiers, (three Corporals and one Trumpeter included) at eight Pounds	400	00	00
	600	00	00

Inter regnum.

1659.

September.

September 2. This Day the House went again upon the Bill for an Union with *England* and *Scotland*, and spent almost the whole Day in Debate about it, without resolving any thing but to sit again on the same Business. Letters from their Plenipotentiaries, dated *Elfinore, August 25, 1659*, and from Admiral *Montague*, were read, but their Contents not given: However, the House being informed, That the whole Fleet was come back from the *Sound*, it was referred to the Council of State to return fifteen of the said Ships to the same Station, if they saw Cause.---As Affairs then stood, the House thought proper to order *John Ireton, Esq;* to continue Lord Mayor of the City of *London* for another Year; but on a humble Petition from the City afterwards, representing, That they could not do this, without Breach of their Charter, the House gave them Leave to chuse a new Mayor according to their Charter. But this was not done without a Division of the House, upon the Question; though it was carried for the City 38 against 13: Yet at the same Time that Body was admonished, and required to observe the Qualifications made by the Parliament, *May 9, 1659*, in the Election of all their Officers in the said City.

Letters from General *Lambert*, with a List inclosed of such Persons, who were fit to be Sequestrators, in *Cheshire, Lancashire*, and *North-Wales*, were referred to the Council of State to go upon, with all Expedition, for the Good and Advantage of the Commonwealth.—These Sequestrators, to make them more terrible, had Power given them to examine upon Oath.—The Members of the House were enjoined to attend the Service at Eight the next Morning. Accordingly,

September 3. We find that the Business of this Day ran wholly on the Bill of Assessment, and many Amendments were made to it. After which they ordered their House to be called on the 6th Instant; but it was afterwards put off to a longer Time.

In

In the Afternoon of this Day, for the House very often sat on both Ends of it, the Form of an Engagement was tendered to the House, to be taken and subscribed by the Persons nominated to be Commission-Officers of the Militia, which ran in these Words:

Inter-regnum.
1659.
Septembat.

I A. B. do hereby declare, That I renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, and the whole Line of the late King James, and of every other Person, as a Single Person, pretending to the Government of these Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and that I will, by the Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to this Commonwealth, against any King, Single Person, or House of Peers, and every of them: And hereunto I subscribe my Name.

This Engagement, or Declaration, was read thrice, passed, and ordered to be subscribed by all those that shall be Officers and Soldiers of the Militia.

Another Proclamation was ordered to be published, against *John Mordaunt, Esq;* Son to the late Earl of *Peterborough*, and Major-General *Massej*, and 100*l.* Reward offered for the taking of either of them. The latter was taken, but escaped miraculously (*i*), and lived to see the Restoration.

We meet with nothing now, of public Matters, for some Days; Debates on the Bill for an Union, and Amendments to the Assessment Bill, excepted. *Peter Brook, Esq;* a *Cheshire* Gentleman, and a Member of this Parliament, a Prisoner, was order'd to be brought to the Bar of the House, this Day, *Sept. 13*; where appearing, and being ask'd some Questions, he had the Courage there to own, That he consented to the Design of *Sir George Booth*, was with him at *Chester*, was named one of the Council of War, and sat once at it: That he, and half a Score of his Tenants, went to *Warrington* in the

F f 2

Night.

(f). See *Whitlock's Memorials*, p 683.

Inter regnum.
1659.

September.

Night-time; and that he had a Sword by his Side, and some of his Tenants Pistols. Being ordered to withdraw and called in again, and kneeling at the Bar, the Speaker acquainted him with the Resolutions of the House; That, as a Criminal to the Parliament, they had resolved, That he be disabled and discharged from being a Member of Parliament; and that, as a Criminal to this Commonwealth, he be committed to the Tower of London, for High Treason, in levying War against the Parliament and Commonwealth, in order to his Trial.' (a)

Sept. 14. Resolved, 'That this House doth agree with the Council of State; and doth declare, That Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* is clear from the Accusation laid against him; and that there is not any just Ground of Jealousy or Imputation upon him.'

Sept. 16. The Parliament had several Letters and Papers read in the House relating to their Agencies between the two Northern Kings, with a Narrative of Admiral *Montague*, &c. Upon all which the House ordered, 'That these Papers should be referred back to the Council of State for their Consideration: And that the Council do also consider of the Instructions given to the Fleet when they were sent to the *Sound*; and also the Ground of the coming home of the Navy, not having Directions from this House.' This is a second strong Hint of their Jealousy of Admiral *Montague*.

Sept. 21. The Council of State represented to the House the State of the Excise on Beer, Ale, &c. and desired some effectual Course might be taken for securing the Commonwealth, as to the Monies due from the several Farmers of this Revenue.— Then follows a long List of their Names, and the several Sums due from them to the Government; and

(a) About this Time *James Naylor*, the blaspheming Quaker, who had been imprisoned for some Years in *Bridewell*, was set at Liberty by Order of Parliament.

and the Serjeant at Arms was ordered to take into his Custody the most obnoxious of them.

Inter regnum.

1659.

September.

The next Day, Sept. 22. the House seem to have taken some Alarm, by ordering their Doors to be kept shut, and no Member to go out till further Order: After which the House was made acquainted with the Nature of an Address, intended to be made to Parliament by some Officers of the Army. Upon which Col. *Pierſon*, Col. *Aſhfield*, and Col. *Cobbett*, were ordered to bring the original Paper, or Address, intended to be presented to Parliament that Afternoon; and that Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood* do give Notice of this Order to them.

Accordingly, in the Afternoon of this Day, the Lieutenant-General did deliver in a Paper, or Letter, signed by many Persons of the Army, and subscribed, *To the Supreme Authority of these Nations, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, &c. The Humble Petition and Proposals of the Officers of the Army, under the Command of the Right Honourable the Lord Lambert, in the late Northern Expedition.* After reading of this Paper, the House fell into a great Debate about it; but growing late, it was adjourned to the next Morning, the first Business, and nothing to intervene.

The Door of the House was ordered to be again kept shut, and no Member suffered to go out without Leave; the Lobby to be cleared of all Strangers, and that Door shut also. After this the Debate began on the late Petition and Proposals of the Officers, &c. but what was said in it we cannot learn from the *Journals*, only it was resolved, 'That this Debate be kept under Secrecy.'

But at the Conclusion of the Debate, which took up the whole Day, we find the House came to the following Resolution, 'That this House doth declare, That to have any more General Officers in the Army, than are already settled by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth.' But a Question being proposed, 'That

Inter regnum.
1659.

September,

some of the Matters contained in the Paper, intituled *The Humble Petition*, &c. are unseasonable, and of dangerous Consequence.' And the Question being put, that this Question be now put, the House divided; when it passed in the Negative, 31 against 25. After which Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* was ordered to communicate the former Vote of this House to the Officers of the Army, and to admonish them of this irregular Proceeding, and to take Care to prevent any further Proceedings therein by the Soldiery.

Sept. 24. Sir *Henry Vane* made a Report of two Examinations of Sir *George Booth*, in the Tower; one taken August 29, and the other September, 1659. These Examinations are not entered at Length in the Journals; but the Titles of some Papers, which we suppose were taken with him, are there; and we shall give them, with the Proceedings of the House thereupon, in the Words of the Journals.

A Letter from *Brussels*, May 16, 1659, directed to G. B. and subscribed *Charles R.* A Letter of Summons, directed to Sir *George Booth*, dated July 23, 1659, signed N. W. M. A Paper, intituled, *A Copy of the whole Engagement*. Another Paper of Engagement of the several Persons of the late King's Party subscribed C. *Kilmorey*, Will. *Neale*, Ran. *Egerton*, Ro. *Werden*; also another Engagement subscribed C. *Kilmerry*, G. *Booth*, Ran. *Egerton*, Geo. *Warburton*, J. *Weraein*, L. *Boothe*: Which were all read.

He also reported the Examinations of Mr. *Robert Tippin*, John *Billassis*, Esq; *Charles Howard*, Lord *Castleton*, the Earl of *Northampton*; the Confession and Examination of *Charles White*, and the Pass of *Robert Greenwood* for Col. *Charles White*, with two Servants and their Horses, dated the 13th of August, 1659, which were also all read.

After which it was resolved, 'That Thursday the 6th of October next be observed by the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Liberties thereof, and within the late Lines of Communication, as a

Day

of ENGLAND.

453

Inter-regnum.
1659.

October.

Day of public Thanksgiving for this great Deliverance from the wicked and dangerous Design of Sir *George Booth* and his Accomplices; that the House do meet on that Day in *Margaret's Church, Westminster*; and that *Mr. Venning* and *Mr. Caryl* be desired to carry on the Duty of the Day there. *Thursday* the 3d of *November* was ordered to be observed as a Day of Thanksgiving on the same Account by the whole Commonwealth; and *Col. Sydenham*, *Col. Rich*, and *Mr. Millington*, were order'd to bring in a Declaration for that Purpose on *Monday Morning* next.

Then it was resolved, on the Question, Yeas 19, Noes 18, 'That Lord *Fauconberg* be sent to the *Tower*.'

In the Afternoon of this Day, amongst other Business of less Moment, a Bill was read a third Time, intituled, *An Act for the Continuance of the Customs and Excise*; and, after adding a Clause or two to it, passed, and ordered to be printed and published. The Customs and Excise Act passed.

'Ordered, That a Letter be written to the Duke of *Venice*, to secure the Earl of *Arundel* in his Territories, untill he could be sent for by the Parliament. In the mean Time, the Estate of the said Earl to be secured for his Use, in the Hands of such Persons as the Council of State should nominate, till his Return from beyond the Seas into *England*.

Sept. 30. The Debate on the Act of Union began again this Day, but without coming to any Resolution on the Matter, except only to sit again on this Business this Day Se'nnight.

The same Day the whole House were called over with great Strictness, and many Members fined for Non-Attendance; several 100*l.* each, but more in 201 (b). And

The next Day, *October 1*, the House took into Debate the filling up of their House, but adjourned it for that Time.

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(b) See the Particulars in the *Commons Journals*, p. 789.

Iter-regnum,
1659.

October.

A formal Invitation came from the City of *London*, introduced by several Aldermen; when Alderman *Fowke*, addressing himself humbly to the Speaker, said, 'The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, observing, with Gladness, your setting apart several Days to commemorate the Mercies of the Lord, in our late great Deliverance, it is their Desire, as much as may be, to improve this Mercy to the uttermost, and to join with you therein, and also that we may manifest our real Affections and the Sincerity of our Hearts to this Parliament, and our Desire to strengthen your Hands, it hath been upon our Hearts to express it; and, to that End, it is the humble Request of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, That this Honourable House will be pleased to honour them with your Presence at Dinner, at *Grocer's-Hall*: They thought it not fit to appoint the Day, but on such Day as this Honourable House shall think fit.'

The Aldermen having withdrawn, the House resolved to accept of this Invitation, and that *Thursday* the 6th Instant be the Day. Then the Aldermen were again called in, and being at the Bar, the Speaker gave them the following Answer:

'Mr. Alderman, and the rest of your Company, the House have taken into Consideration your Message of great Civility, and they have commanded me to give you Thanks, and to let you know that they accept of this Invitation; and that they have thought fit that the Parliament and the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council do meet in *Christ-Church*; and that the Ministers appointed to preach before the Parliament do preach there; and that the Day be *Thursday* next.'

A Declaration, assigning the Grounds and Reasons for setting apart *Thursday* the 3d of *November* for a Day of public Thanksgiving unto the Lord, in the Three Nations, was read in the House; and, after some Amendments, agreed to, and ordered to be

be printed and published over all the Counties, &c. Inter regnum.
of this Commonwealth. 1659.

October.

October 3. The Debate was resumed towards filling up their House with Members; and, after some Time spent therein, it was resolved, 'That it be referred to a Committee to consider of the Distributions, Numbers, and Qualifications of Members to be elected to sit and serve in this present Parliament; that the Matter of this Debate be referred to the Committee to whom the Government is put, to make a Report of it to the House; but no farther Notice is taken of it in the *Journals*.

Oct. 5. By an Entry in the *Journals* of this Day; and, by the subsequent Part of the Proceeding, we may well suppose the Parliament were growing extremely jealous of their own Army at home, and were willing to curry Favour with *Monke* in *Scotland*. The Entry is this, which we shall leave to the Reader's Judgment:

'Ordered, that a Letter be prepared, to be signed by the Speaker, to General *Monke*, in *Scotland*, taking Notice of the Parliament's good Acceptance of his Faithfulness, and Expressions of the same by his Letters, and otherwise: And that the Lord *Whitlocke* be desired to prepare a Letter to that Purpose.'

Subsequent to this, on the same Day, the House was informed that some Officers of the Army were at the Door; who, being called in, Major-General *Desborough*, at the Bar of the House, in the Name of the rest, said,

Mr. Speaker,

'I Am ordered, by the general Council of the Army, with the rest of these Gentlemen, to wait upon you, to present unto you their Humble Representation and Petition; and they humbly desire, that you would accept it, as that proceeds from the Hearts of those, who desire nothing more than that the Lord would strengthen your Hearts, in carrying on

The Parliamentary HISTORY

on that good Work of settling these Nations upon the Foundation of a Free Commonwealth, whereby the Religious and Civil Liberties of the good People thereof may be preserved and secured.

The Officers being ordered to withdraw, their Petition was read; after which the Speaker, by Direction of the House, gave them this Answer :

Gentlemen,

‘**T**HE Parliament hath read your Representation and Petition; and taking Notice of the good Expressions of your Affections and Faithfulness to this Parliament and Commonwealth, which are therein, have commanded me to return you the Thanks of the House: And, in their Name, I give you Thanks accordingly.

‘I am likewise commanded to let you know, That the Parliament hath already taken into Consideration the Relief of the poor Widows, Orphans, and maimed Soldiers, to whom Pensions have been formerly allowed, and a Way for Satisfaction of the Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers; and shall endeavour to bring the same to speedy Effect: The other Matters of your Petition are appointed to be taken into Consideration on *Saturday* next, the 8th Instant.——But more of this in the Sequel.

October 7. The Thanks of the House were ordered to be given to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, for their good Respects and kind Entertainment, of the House Yesterday, at *Grocer's-Hall*. *Dr. Holmes* and *Mr. Caryll* had also Thanks returned them for their great Pains-taking in carrying on the Work of the Day; and that they be desired to print their Sermons. *Whitlocke* tells us, That the Council of State, and the great Officers of the Army, were also invited, and dined with the Parliament, where many mutual Expressions of Respect and Love passed amongst them.—The Union Bill was again debated, but

but adjourned for a Fortnight ; so we hear no more of that Bill in the *Journals*.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

October.

October 8. An additional Bill, for enforcing Sequestrations against the Unfortunate in the late Attempt, was now read a second Time, and ordered to be engrossed. The Officers of this terrible Inquisition are next named, and their respective Salaries settled ; amongst whom *Praise God Barebone* was made Comptroller, with a Salary of 300 *l.* a Year.

Resolved, That no Person proposed for any Office of Profit or Trust, shall be passed the same Day he is so : And that such Person as shall present any Person to this House, for any Place of Profit or Trust, shall give in his Name under his Hand, and leave it with the Clerk of this House ; and that they believe him to be a Person within the Qualifications of the 9th of *May*, 1659.

The House next proceeded, according to Order, to take into Consideration the late Petition of the Officers of the Army ; but, after some Debate, it was adjourned to

October 10. Which Day, both Morning and Afternoon, was taken up in debating the Affair ; and, first, the said Representation and Petition was read in the House.

The *Journals* do not give us either the whole, or any Part of this Petition, which occasioned another Revolution in Affairs : The Answers to the Propositions annexed to it, are all that is entered in those Authorities. Neither has any Historian of these Times, that we have met with, left us aught concerning it, excepting some very slight Notice. *Whitlocke* only saying, That in this Petition were several Matters displeasing to the House, as infringing their Privileges, and seeming to impose Things upon them. We have been so fortunate, however, as to recover it from utter Oblivion, in a Pamphlet in our Collection, printed at this Time, along with the Parliament's Answers to the Propositions, and the further Proceedings thereon, to the Time of their being

Inter-regnum.

1659.

October.

being turned out of Doors, once more by the Army. This Pamphlet was certainly taken from the *Journals* themselves, and published by some Member of the Parliament, in order to shew the World the Fairness of their Proceedings; and how unjustly they had been deprived of their assumed Dignity and Power. There are, besides, in this Pamphlet, two Acts of Parliament, at Length, the Titles of which are but mentioned in the *Journals*, the Effect of which was, to raise still greater Animosities amongst the Soldiery, and hasten on their own Destruction. The whole we shall give from this old Pamphlet, compared with the *Journals*; and then, with some Recapitulations of what has lately passed, and some Reflections on the then present State of Affairs, we shall conclude our Account of this Epitome of a Parliament, with its own Dissolution.

The Army's Petition, &c. was in these Words.

The HUMBLE REPRESENTATION and PETITION of the OFFICERS of the ARMY to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, presented to them October 5, 1659, by Major-General Desborough; together with the Parliament's ANSWER thereunto: Or a true Extract of the Journals in Parliament, so far as they relate unto the PETITION and PROPOSALS of the ARMY, and present Distempers (c). Sheweth,

A Petition from the Army to the House, which occasioned another Revolution.

THAT having had, by your Order, some late Votes of Parliament communicated to us by Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, our Commander in Chief, occasioned by a Debate in Parliament, upon the Petition and Proposals of the Officers under the Command of the Lord *Lambert* in the late Northern Expedition; we have inquired diligently into our Hearts and Ways, with reference thereunto, and finding nothing amongst us but Faithfulness and Integrity to the Parliament and this Commonwealth, we cannot but be sensible, that there hath not wanted some Persons, who have endeavoured to beget Misunderstanding

(c) London, printed by John Redmayne, 1659.

'derstanding between the Parliament and Army ;
 'and to that End have represented our Actions
 'and Intentions so, as it is taken for granted there
 'hath been Irregularity amongst us, at which we
 'fear you have taken Offence. Whereas we are
 'persuaded, that if there had not been an Anticipa-
 'tion, it would have appeared to all unprejudiced
 'Spirits, that neither we, (who, for the Generality
 'of us, were utterly ignorant of that whereat the
 'Offence is taken) nor our faithful Brethren of the
 'Northern Brigade, who signed the said Petition and
 'Proposals, did design or intend any thing tending
 'to the Interruption of the Parliament, the Prejudice
 'of the Peace of this Commonwealth, or any
 'other bye or sinister Respect, not becoming the
 'Trust reposed in us. Wherefore, being sensible
 'of the evil Use that Persons abroad may make
 'from the least Apprehensions of Difference be-
 'tween the Parliament and Army, and that we
 'may, as much as in us lie, remove all Occasions
 'of Surmize, justify our own Innocency before you,
 'and frustrate the Expectations of any, who, by
 'blowing up the Coals of Dissention, hope to warm
 'themselves thereby, we have thought it our Duty
 'to present our naked Thoughts to you, and hope
 'you will find so much of Integrity and approved
 'Faithfulness in us for the Welfare of this Com-
 'monwealth, as may continue a firm Confidence of
 'us, and engage your Zeal against all such as shall
 'go about to reproach your faithful Army, or
 'any Member thereof for the future ; especi-
 'ally considering, that the Peace of these Nations,
 'next under God, depends so much upon a cordial
 'and affectionate Agreement and Union of the
 'Parliament and Army, and an uninterrupted good
 'Understanding of each other ; and therefore we
 'do humbly and plainly declare,

1. ' That notwithstanding what any Persons may
 ' suggest or say to the contrary, we are not for, but
 ' against, the setting up of any Single Person what-
 ' soever, in Supreme Authority : And for a De-
 'monstration hereof, we may appeal to your own
 Judgments

Inter-regnum.

1659.

October.

‘ Judgments upon our late Actings ; wherein, since
 ‘ our Declaration of the 6th of *May* last, we have,
 ‘ with all Industry and Faithfulness, endeavoured to
 ‘ render ourselves serviceable to you and this Com-
 ‘ monwealth, and have chearfully observed your
 ‘ Commands, some of us with our Lives in our
 ‘ Hands in your late Service ; wherein, to our great
 ‘ Encouragement, the Lord hath once more ap-
 ‘ peared to own you and your Army, and the Good
 ‘ old Cause for which we have contended. And,
 ‘ at the late Return of this Parliament to the Dis-
 ‘ charge of their remaining Trust, we did, with
 ‘ Simplicity and Plainness, in our Humble Petition
 ‘ and Address presented unto you, manifest our
 ‘ Hearts and Desires, and that with much Unanimity
 ‘ and Fulness of Consent, which we apprehended
 ‘ was well accepted by you.

2. ‘ That we have not since changed our Prin-
 ‘ ciples, (leading to a well-regulated Common-
 ‘ wealth, wherein the Liberties of the People there-
 ‘ of, both Spiritual and Civil, may be fully secured,
 ‘ and Persons of known Integrity, Piety, and Abi-
 ‘ lity, employed in Places of Trust and Concern-
 ‘ ment) but resolve, by the Assistance of God, to
 ‘ remain constant to them ; and make it our hum-
 ‘ ble Prayer to God, that he would incline your
 ‘ Hearts effectually to prosecute the same, and make
 ‘ you instrumental in bringing forth such a Foun-
 ‘ dation of Government, whereby all the good
 ‘ People of these Nations may rationally expect
 ‘ that such Liberties and Rights shall be preserved
 ‘ to them and their Posterities. And we can truly
 ‘ say, that it is in our Hearts earnestly to desire,
 ‘ that God would crown you with the Honour of
 ‘ making these Nations happy by such a Settlement,
 ‘ as may not be liable, at every Change of Gover-
 ‘ nors, to have the Peace thereof disturbed, by in-
 ‘ troducing new Governments.

3. ‘ Whereas a Petition and Proposals were lately
 ‘ drawn up, by the Officers of the Brigade under
 ‘ the Command of Major General *Lambert*, that
 ‘ hazarded themselves in your Service with good
 ‘ Success,

‘ Success, whereby, thro’ the Blessing of God upon
‘ them, and others of your faithful Friends and
‘ Servants, the Peace of this Commonwealth is still
‘ continued : And the said Petition was sent up to
‘ some Officers here, to be presented to the Lord
‘ Fleetwood, which hath been by some interpreted
‘ to evil and sinister Ends, and from thence Sug-
‘ gestions derived, as if there were Intentions to
‘ violate the Parliament, to set up a Single Person,
‘ or another General, in order thereunto : We do
‘ sincerely profess (whatever the Designs of any Per-
‘ sons may be, to promote such causeless Jealousies)
‘ we have had no other than Faithfulness and Can-
‘ dour in our Hearts and Actions towards the Par-
‘ liament ; nor do we apprehend (with Submission
‘ we speak it) any Reason or Cause of Offence to
‘ be conceived against your faithful Servants, who
‘ lately gave so ample Proof of their Fidelity and
‘ Courage.

4. ‘ We cannot but esteem ourselves unhappy
‘ to have been so misrepresented to the Parliament,
‘ as should occasion such a public Admonition upon
‘ Record ; and considering what evil Use may be
‘ made of these Things by the public Enemy, and
‘ to the end they may be disappointed of their
‘ Hopes, and all such Persons discouraged as shall
‘ go about for the future to promote Jealousies, or,
‘ by Misinformation, to beget Divisions betwixt the
‘ Parliament and their faithful Servants the Army ;
‘ and that a good Understanding may be preserved
‘ between them, we humbly pray,

I. ‘ That the Officers of the Army, and particu-
‘ larly those who have Reason to bear the Marks of
‘ your Favour, for their Faithfulness in the late
‘ Northern Expedition, may stand right in your
‘ Opinion, and have your Countenance.

II. ‘ That whatsoever Person or Persons shall,
‘ for the future, groundlessly and causelessly inform
‘ the House against your Servants, thereby creating
‘ Jealousies, and casting scandalous Imputations
‘ upon them, may be brought to Examination, Ju-
‘ stice, and condign Punishment.

III.

The Parliamentary HISTORY

III. ' That it being an undoubted Right of the
' People to have Liberty in a peaceable and sub-
' missive Way, to petition the Supreme Authority;
' which Liberty hath been by yourselves asserted,
' allowed, and approved of, we cannot but also assert
' the said Liberty, and humbly conceive that your
' faithful Servants of the Army have no way forfeited
' their Rights as Freemen; and that therefore they
' hope it will be no Offence for them to submit
' their humble Desires to the Parliament. And we
' hope and pray you will not discourage them for so
' doing.

IV. ' That you would be pleased to take into your
' serious Consideration the necessitous Condition of
' the poor Soldiers of your Armies; and that all pos-
' sible Care may be taken for their timely Supply,
' their Wants being such as earnestly call for it; and
' that some speedy and effectual Course may be ta-
' ken to provide for the maimed Soldiers, and the
' poor Widows and Orphans of such as have been
' slain in your Service, that the Blessing of the De-
' solate may be upon you.

V. ' That such who have freely offered them-
' selves, in the several Counties and Cities of these
' Nations, to own and stand by you and your Cause
' in the late Insurrection, with the Hazard of all
' that is dear unto them, may have your Encourage-
' ment, and be employed in Places of Trust and
' Command.

VI. ' That (it being a Thing granted by all,
' that, without due Execution of Martial Disci-
' pline, the Peace, Union, and good Government of
' an Army cannot be preserved) the Discipline of
' the Army may be preserved inviolable; and in
' particular, that no Officer or Soldier of your Ar-
' my may be cashier'd, or dismiss'd from their Places,
' without a due Proceeding at a Court Martial, or
' by his own Consent, except in Cases of Reduce-
' ments or Disbandings.

VII. ' That it being judged necessary by the Par-
' liament, for the keeping of the Army under such
' a Conduct as may render the same serviceable to
' the

the Commonwealth, to appoint a Committee of Nomination, for the proposing of Officers to the Parliament for their Approbation, we humbly pray that no Officers may be brought into the Army, but such as shall first come under the Consideration of the said Committee, and be by them presented.

Inter. repnum.
1659.
October.

VIII. The Office of the Commander in Chief of the Army, being of so great Concernment to the Peace of this Commonwealth, and his Commission at present, as we conceive, expiring within a few Months, we humbly pray that the Consideration of that Matter may come before you, and some such effectual Course taken therein, as may prevent our Fears, and the Hazard of leaving the Army to Confusion.

IX. And that you would retain a good Opinion of your Army; and, against all Discouragements whatsoever, proceed in the carrying on of that good Work intrusted in your Hands, for the Glory of God, and Advantage of these Nations. In the Prosecution whereof, thro' the Help of our God, we shall be found (notwithstanding all Endeavours to the contrary) faithful to you and this Commonwealth.

After which, the Officers being called in again, Mr. Speaker, by Order of the House, gave them this Answer: 'Gentlemen, The Parliament have read your Representation and Petition, &c.' already given at p. 458.

October 10. The House took into Consideration the foregoing Humble Representation and Petition of the Officers of the Army, and resolved to proceed in the particular Proposals thereof.

The first Proposal (n) being read, it was resolved that the following Answer be given to it: 'That the Officers of the Army have received, and shall, from Time to Time, receive, Marks of the Favour

Answer to the Propositions of the Army.

VOL. XXI

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(n) The Proposals being the same as given before, we omit them here.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

October.

of this Parliament, and Countenance answerable to their Merit and Faithfulness.'

The same Day, in the Afternoon, the Second Proposal was read, to which the following Answer was resolved to be given: That it is the Duty of all Persons, especially of the Members of Parliament, to inform the House of any thing which, in their Apprehension, may concern the Public Safety: And it is the undoubted Right of the Parliament to receive and debate those Informations, and to resolve what they think fit thereupon.'

October 11. The Third Proposal was read, to which the following Answer was resolved to be given: 'The Parliament declareth, that every Member of the Army, as Freemen of *England*, have Right of petitioning the Parliament; but withall thinks fit to let them know, that the Petitioners ought to be very careful, both in the Manner and in the Matter which they desire: That the Way of promoting and presenting the same may be peaceable, and the Things petitioned for not tending to the Disturbance of the Commonwealth, nor to the Dishonour of the Parliament: And that it is the Duty of Petitioners to submit their Desires to the Parliament, and acquiesce in the Judgment thereof.'

The same Day, in the Afternoon, the Fourth Proposal was read, and the following Answer was resolved to be given to it: 'That two Months Pay be forthwith paid to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army in *England*, out of the six Months Assessment of 35,000 *l.* per Month, now due; and that the Council of State do give Order that the same be paid accordingly. Resolved, 'That two Months Pay be also paid forthwith to the Officers and Soldiers, in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and that the Council of State do give Order for the Payment thereof accordingly.'

And it was ordered, 'That the former Votes for making Provisions for Officers and Soldiers, and wounded and maimed Soldiers, be also Part of the Answer

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Answer to this Fourth Propofal ; and that the Council of State do take Care the Monies formerly ordered to be paid, to the Use of the wounded and maimed Soldiers, Widows and Orphans, at *Ely-House* and the *Savoy*, be forthwith paid unto the old Officers there ; and that they pay it according to the Regulation made by the Trustees and Contractors at *Worcester-House*.

It was also ordered, ' That it be referred to a Committee to bring in a Bill for saving to such Apprentices, as have served the Parliament in the late War, their Time, and to compel their Masters to grant them their Freedom, as if they had been in their Masters Service during the Time they were in the Parliament's Service.'

Then the Fifth Propofal was read, to which the following Answer was resolved to be given : ' That such Persons as have been faithful and active for the Parliament in the late Insurrection, the Parliament will take Care to give them all due Encouragement, as Occasion shall be offered.'

Then it was ordered, ' That the further Debate, on the Army's Propofals, be adjourned untill the next Morning, and to be the first Business.'

This Day the House also passed the Act against raising of Monies upon the People, without their Consent in Parliament, which was as follows :

' **B**E it enacted by this present Parliament, and by the Authority thereof, and it is hereby enacted, That all Orders, Ordinances, and Acts, made by any Single Person and his Council, or by both or either of them, or otherwise, or by any Assembly or Convention, pretending to have Authority of Parliament, from and after the 19th Day of *April*, 1653, and before the 7th of *May*, 1659, and which have not been, or shall not be, enacted, allowed, and confirmed, by this present Parliament, be, and are hereby declared, deemed, taken, and adjudged to be, of no Force or Effect, from and after the said 7th of *May*, 1659.

An Act against raising Money without Consent of Parliament

The Parliamentary HISTORY

‘ And be it further enacted, That no Person or
 ‘ Persons shall, after the 11th of *October*, 1659,
 ‘ assess, levy, collect, gather, or receive any Custom,
 ‘ Impost, Excise, Assessment, Contribution, Tax,
 ‘ Tallage, or any Sum or Sums of Money, or other
 ‘ Imposition whatsoever, upon the People of this
 ‘ Commonwealth, without their Consent in Parlia-
 ‘ ment, or as by Law might have been done before
 ‘ the 3d of *November*, 1640.

‘ And be it further enacted and declared, That
 ‘ every Person offending contrary to this Act, shall
 ‘ be, and is hereby adjudged to be, guilty of High
 ‘ Treason, and shall forfeit and suffer as in Case of
 ‘ High Treason.

‘ Provided that this Act, or any thing herein con-
 ‘ tained, shall not be construed, or taken, to make
 ‘ void or impeach one Act made this Parliament, the
 ‘ 12th of *July* 1659, intituled, *An Act of Indemnity*
 ‘ and free Pardon; nor any Article or Clause therein
 ‘ contained.

‘ Provided also, That nothing in this Act extend
 ‘ to interrupt any Soldier, or Adventurer, or any
 ‘ Purchaser, their Heirs or Assigns, in the Possession
 ‘ of any Lands or Hereditaments in *Ireland*, or of
 ‘ any Purchaser of any Lands or Hereditaments
 ‘ within this Commonwealth, unless where this
 ‘ Parliament hath taken, or shall take, further or
 ‘ other Order therein.

THOMAS ST. NICHOLAS,
Clerk of the Parliament.

October 12. The House re-assumed the Debate
 upon the Proposals, the Sixth being read, and also
 a Letter dated at *Whitchall*, *October* 5, 1659, signed
 by divers Officers of the Army, directed to Col.
John Okey, and a Paper, in Print, intituled, *The*
Humble Representation and Petition of the Officers of
the Army to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of
England, presented to them *October* the 5th, by
 Major General *Desborough*, accompanied with the
 Field Officers of the Army, and subscribed by 230
 Commission Officers in and about *London*, together
 with the Parliament’s Answer thereunto.

Then

Then they resolved, ' That the several Commis-
sions of the following Persons, viz. Colonels *John Lambert, John Desborough, James Bury, Thomas Kelsey, Richard Ashfield, Ralph Cobbett, William Packer, Robert Barrow*, and Major *Richard Creed*, who have subscribed the said Letter, should be made void and null, and every of them be discharged from all Military Employment.'

Inter regnum.

16.9.

October.

They also resolved, ' That the Army should be governed by seven Commissioners; whereupon a Bill was drawn up, empowering several Persons therein named Commissioners for the Government of the Army, which, after thrice reading, upon the Question, passed as followeth:

BE it enacted by this present Parliament, and the Authority thereof, and it is hereby enacted, That one Act made this Parliament, intituled, *An Act constituting Charles Fleetwood, Esq; Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised, and to be raised, by Authority of Parliament, within England and Scotland:* And all Powers and Authorities thereby given, be, and are hereby, repealed and made void; and that the Army and Forces in *England and Scotland*, of this Commonwealth, shall, for the future, be governed by Commissioners, in the Place and Stead of a Lieutenant General, and that Lieutenant-General *Charles Fleetwood*, Lieutenant-General *Edmund Ludlow*, General *George Monke*, Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, Col. *Herbert Morley*, Col. *Valentine Walton*, and Col. *Robert Overton*, be, and are hereby appointed, Commissioners, to execute all and singular the Powers and Authorities incident or belonging to the Office of the Lieutenant General of the Army of this Commonwealth in *England and Scotland*, in as large and ample Manner as in and by the said recited Act was granted and expressed; and that they, or any three or more of them, shall and may execute the said Office and Powers, from the 11th Day of *October*, 1659, unto the 12th Day of *February*, 1659, any Act or

Act for governing the Army by Commissioners.

Inter-regnum.

1659.

October.

‘ Commission whatsoever made or granted to the
 ‘ contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And that
 ‘ all Officers and Soldiers of the Army, and other
 ‘ Persons concerned, are hereby required to yield
 ‘ their Obedience to the said Commissioners accord-
 ‘ ingly. And the said Commissioners are to obey
 ‘ and observe such Orders and Directions as they,
 ‘ or any three of them, shall, from Time to Time,
 ‘ receive from the Parliament, or Council of State
 ‘ appointed, or which shall be appointed, by Autho-
 ‘ rity of Parliament.’

After which the House came to the following Resolutions, *v.z.*

‘ That it be referred to the Commissioners for commanding the Army, to bring in the Names of the next superior Officers in every of the Regiments late of Colonels *John Lambert, John Desborough, James Bury, Thomas Kelsey, Richard Ashfield, Ralph Cobbett, William Packer, Robert Barrow,* and Major *Richard Creed*, and present them to the Parliament the next Morning: That Col. *Dixwell* be Lieutenant of *Dover Castle*, and that his Commission be brought in also at the same Time.’

Then it was referred to a Committee to consider of an Answer to be given to the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Proposals of the Officers of the Army, and report it to the House.

After which it was ordered, ‘ That the Commissioners for the Management of the Army, be enjoined forthwith to meet and give Order, that the Forces may be disposed of as may be for the Peace of the Commonwealth, and Safety of the Parliament.’—Thus far the Pamphlet.

October 13. The Journals tell us, ‘ That this Day the late principal Officers of the Army whose Commissions were vacated, drew up Forces in and about *Westminster*, obstructed all Passages both by Land and Water, stopped the Speaker in his Way, placed and continued Guards upon and about the Doors

Doors of the Parliament-House, and so interrupted the Members from coming to the House, and attending their Service there.'

Inter. regnum

1659.

October,

Having thus gone through with the Story of these last Words of a dying Parliament, we shall next proceed to tell the Manner of its Exit, and how it was brought about, extracted from the Historians of those Times.

General *Ludlow*, though he was then absent in *Ireland* when this Affair was bringing to a Crisis; yet he tells us, 'That, before he went, he had great Reason to suspect the Fidelity of his Brother *Lambert* to the Parliament; and more so for the following Reasons:

'The late Act of Indemnity, which hung so long in the House, had a Clause in it to restrain the Favour of the Parliament in regard to those who, under the Usurpation of *Oliver*, had received exorbitant and double Salaries, to the great Discontent of divers considerable Persons, who feared they might be hurt by this Clause. Amongst these, he adds, Major-General *Lambert* bitterly exclaimed against it; saying, amongst other Things, That tho' there was no Security given, by the Act, to indemnify them for what they had done, yet the Parliament had taken Care to make them answerable for whatsoever they had received. This Conversation happened between *Ludlow* and *Lambert* themselves; and Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* joining them, and the Discourse still continuing on the same Topic, Sir *Arthur* avowed the Act was as full and comprehensive as could justly be desired: But *Lambert* still urging that it left them at Mercy; you are, replied Sir *Arthur*, only at the Mercy of the Parliament, who are your good Friends. I know not, added *Lambert*, why they should not be at our Mercy, as well as we at theirs. These Words sounded harsh in the Ears of the other two, and gave them a strong Suspicion of the Heart of him that spoke them.'

In another Part of his Memoirs, the same Author, speaking of General *Lambert*, after his Defeat of

Inter-regnum.

1659.

October.

Sir *George Booth*, says, 'That, on this and other unsuccessful Attempts, the Cavalier Party, and those that sided with them, began to despair, and to give up their Cause for lost; unless, adds he, by Divisions amongst ourselves, we should render our Victories useless to us; which fell out sooner than they expected: For, pursues he, the Officers of the Army, whom nothing could satisfy less than absolute Tyranny over the Nation, notwithstanding the solemn Engagement they had taken before the Parliament at the Time when they received their Commissions from the Hands of the Speaker, and all their Expressions of Sorrow for their former Apostacy, so often repeated in their last Declarations; these wretched Men, I say, contrary to their Faith, and the Duties of common Honesty, resolved to destroy the Parliament; and, in Imitation of their late Master *Oliver*, to sacrifice the Common Cause to their insatiable Ambition. In order to this, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* moved the House, at the Time when they had received the Account of Sir *George Booth's* Defeat, that they would appoint Col. *Lambert* to be Major-General of their Army; and this was done upon certain Assurance that Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* and other Members would endeavour to obstruct it; whereby they doubted not the Colonel would be so far disabled, as to be ready to join with them in their detestable Design. And it succeeded according to their Expectation: For Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, well knowing that, in a free Commonwealth, no Man ought to be trusted with too great Power, and especially such as had made very ill Use of it before, prevailed with the Parliament to declare that they would not create any more General Officers than those that were so already; which Method they took, that they might not seem to put a Negative upon him in particular. The Lieutenant-General, having attained his End in the first Motion, was encouraged to move again, that, seeing the House had not thought fit to do as he had proposed, they would be pleased to present the Sum
of

of 500 *l.* or 1000 *l.* to Col. *Lambert*, as a Mark of their Favour to be conferred on him, in Consideration of his late Service. This Proposition was most willingly entertained, Sir *Arthur Haslrigge* concurring with those who were for the greater Sum; which was paid to him accordingly. But the Parliament's Refusal to gratify him with the Title before-mentioned was aggravated to that Degree, that he, together with many Officers more, amongst whom he had an Interest, became most implacable Enemies to the Parliament.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

October.

Our other contemporary Memorialist, *Whitlocke*, we have said, grows so very sententious, and makes such Pauses, as he comes nearer his End, that little can be made of his Meaning; saye, that he was still ready to serve all Changes in the Government but the right one. This Author acquaints us, 'That, when the Debate on the Representations of the Officers began, some Members made sharp Invectives against them; and that *Haslrigge* and his Party, being jealous that the Soldiers might break up the Parliament and raise Money without them, passed an Act against levying any Money without Consent of Parliament; which Act only served to raise still more Discontent amongst the Soldiery, especially when they knew the Penalty thereof was High Treason. That the Disbanding of the General Officers added yet more, and further exasperated *Lambert* and his Party, and most of the old Officers, then in *London*; especially those who had lately done such good Service to the State, as urged them to follow their own Interest, and act the Part they did.' Our Author is more particular than ordinary in his Account of that Affair, which take in his own Words.

He tells us, 'That this Morning, Oct. 13, the Soldiers drew out of *Scotland-Yard*, Part of them to *Westminster*, and possessed themselves of the Hall, the Palace Yards, and Avenues; and these were such as *Haslrigge*, *Morley*, and their Party had to declare for the Parliament, and to be Guards to them.

'*Evelyn*,

Inter-regnum.

1659.

October.

Evelyn, who commanded the Life-Guards of the Parliament, marching forth with his Troop to do his Service, was met by *Lambert* at *Scotland Yard Gate*, and *Lambert* commanded *Evelyn* to dismount, who thought it safest to obey: And though *Lambert* was on Foot, and none with him, yet *Evelyn*, at the Head of his Troop, dismounted at his Command, and his Troop also obeyed *Lambert*; who drew together some other Forces, and placed them along in *King's-Street*, and near the Abbey Church and Yard; and when the Speaker came by in his Coach they stopped him, and caused him to return back; and so the House did not sit.

The Council of State sat, where were both Parties of the opposite Soldiers, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and *Hastlidge*, *Morley*, and others; and they had a long and smart Debate. Some of the Members had got into the House, but the Speaker was kept from them, and most Part of their Members. Those in the House were sent to from the Council of State, and consulted with about an Accommodation; and, in the mean Time, the several Parties of the Soldiers kept their Stations, expecting Orders to fall on.

But the Council of State so managed the Business, and so persuaded with all Parties, that at the last they came to an Accommodation to save the Effusion of Blood, and the Parliament was not to sit; but the Council of Officers undertook to provide for the Preservation of the Peace, and to have a Form of Government to be drawn up for a new Parliament to be shortly summoned, and so to settle all Things.

This being agreed upon, (and it could not be obtained otherwise) the Council of State, in the Evening, sent their Orders, requiring all the Soldiers of each Party to draw off, and to depart to their several Quarters; which was obeyed by them.

Mr. Ludlow, again, is still more explicit in his Account of this bold and daring Attempt; the Execution whereof had like to have cost a great deal of Bloodshed.

shed. He tells us, ' That though the late Votes in the House were carried with much Secresy, the Door being kept fast lock'd, yet they came to the Ears of the Officers without; who, being surprized at the Resolution of Parliament, and convinced that the least Delay might prove dangerous, used all Diligence in drawing together their Party, and preparing themselves for their designed Work.

Inter-regnum.
1659.

October.

' In the mean Time the Parliament ordered the Regiments of Col. *Morley* and Col. *Moss* to march forthwith to *Westminster* for their Security, and sent for the rest of the Troops that were about the Town to draw down to them also with all convenient Speed. In pursuance of which Order Col. *Okey* endeavoured to bring down his Regiment of Horse, but the greatest Part of them deserted him: For most of the old Officers whom *Cromwell* had, by his Example, corrupted with the horrid Vices of Ambition and Treachery, found it easy to delude the inferior Officers and private Soldiers, who had either utterly forgot their Trades, or were unwilling to return to an industrious Life, into a Compliance with any Design in order to get a Living. Col. *Lambert* was the Person that made the first Attempt against the Parliament's Guard; endeavouring, at the Head of a Party of Horse, to break in upon that Part where Col. *Morley* was posted with his Regiment: But the Colonel advancing, and assuring him that, if he persisted, he would fire upon him, *Lambert* answer'd, I will then go the other Way; which he did, after he had given Orders to block up the Avenues by the Mill-Bank with Carts and other Impediments, to prevent the Guards of the Parliament from sallying out upon them by that Way. The Army had also placed a Party of theirs in *King-Street*, and in the Church-Yard near the Abbey, some of Col. *Morley's* Regiment having already possessed themselves of the *Old Palace-Yard*. In this Posture they continued all Night.

' The next Morning that Guard of the Army which lay in the Church-Yard advanced, with one Major *Grimes* at the Head of them, towards those

of

The Parliamentary HISTORY

of Col. *Morley's* Regiment, who were in the *Palace-Yard*: Of which Motion the Colonel being inform'd, drew out those that he had with him, and hastened to their Relief. Both Parties being come within Pistol-shot, and each of them ready to fire, those of the Army began to invite Col. *Morley's* Men to come over to them, desiring them to remember that they had hitherto fought together, and that it was unreasonable now to become Enemies. In like Manner Col. *Morley's* Party endeavoured to persuade those of the Army to join with them in the Defence of the Parliament, who they said had been always successful in the Administration of public Affairs, and to whom the Officers of the Army had so lately promised Obedience, when they received their last Commissions; who had always taken effectual Care for their constant Pay, and who were the only Authority that could do so for the future. The Chief Officers at length interposing, it was agreed that both Parties should, for the present, retire to their former Stations.

On the other Side, Col. *Lambert* being advanced near that Party which was commanded by Col. *Moss*, demanded of them, If they would suffer nine of their old Officers, who had so often spent their Blood for them, and with them, to be disgraced and ruined with their Families? The Colonel answered, That though that should be the Case, yet it were much better that nine Families should be destroyed, than the Civil Authority of the Nation trampled Under-foot, who designed not the Ruin of any, but only to remove from their Commands nine Officers, who, by their seditious Carriage, had rendered themselves unworthy of that Trust. But Col. *Lambert's* Oratory was more prevalent with the Person that commanded the Parliament's Guard of Horse, who perceiving that divers of his Men had left him and revolted, by the treacherous Persuasions of one *Catbness*, his Lieutenant, dismounted at the Head of his Troop, at the Command of *Lambert*. Some of Col. *Moss's* Regiment went off also, each Party using their Rhetoric to bring over as many as they could.

could. On the other Part, some came over to the Parliament's Party; and particularly three entire Companies of Col. *Sydenham's* Regiment. But at last the Army gained their Point, and placed Guards, both by Land and Water, to hinder the Members of Parliament from approaching the House; though Sir *Peter Wentworth*, being rowed by a Crew of able Watermen, broke through their Guard on the River, and got into the House. In the mean Time the Speaker, endeavouring to pass in his Coach through the Guards of the Army, was stopped near the Gate of the *Palace-Yard* by Lieutenant-Colonel *Duckenfield*; and being demanded whither he was going, the Speaker answered, To perform his Duty at the House: Then turning himself to the Soldiers, he told them, That he was their General, and expected their Obedience. But these Men having resolved to destroy the Civil Authority, and to set up the Sword in the room of it, forced his Coachman to drive back; and, as he passed by *Wallingford-House*, would have compelled him to drive in at the Gate, telling the Speaker that he must go to Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*. But the Speaker commanded the Coachman to drive home; and having told the Officers, That if Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood* had any Business with him he might come to his House, they desisted from giving him any farther Trouble at that Time.

The former Historians seem to date the Resentment of the Army against the Parliament to the ill Success of their last Petition; but it certainly rose from a higher Source; that is, from the Parliament's obliging all the Officers to receive their Commissions from the Speaker in the House: By which Means they did not only acknowledge the Supreme Power to be in the Parliament, but that they were liable to be cashiered by them whenever they pleased. A Circumstance no ways suitable to the Tempers of these preaching and fighting Colonels, who wanted to be as independent in their Stations as they were in their Religion. Besides, the Hardship of the Thing was very great upon all the Officers both of the

The Parliament
being dissolved,

Inter-regnum.
1659.

October.

the Army and Navy, when they were obliged to come from all Parts of the Nation to receive their new Commissions at *Westminster*; from Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*, Commander in Chief, to the lowest Ensign and Quarter-Master.

This sudden Breaking-up of this Session, unhinged all the Bills that were dependent in this Parliament; as, the Union Bill; that for regulating the Government; and, more than all, the Bill for an Assessment to be raised of 100,000 *l.* a Month; for tho' it was pass'd, yet the levying of it was never attempted that we can learn.

Various Forms
of Government
are purposed.

And now the Government Bill is mentioned, it will be necessary to consider the Nature of it, and how likely they were to bring it to a Conclusion, when even the Members of this Tail of a Parliament were so divided in their Notions about it. Some of them laboured to have the Supreme Authority to consist of an Assembly, chosen by the People, and a Council of State elected by that Assembly; to be vested with the executive Power, and accountable to that which should next succeed, at which Time the Power of the said Council should determine. Others were desirous to have a Representative of the People constantly sitting, but changed by a perpetual Rotation. Some again proposed, That there might be joined to the popular Assembly, a select Number of Men, in the Nature of the *Lacedemonian Ephori*, who should have a Negative in Things, wherein the Essentials of the Government should be concerned; such as, the Exclusion of a Single Person, Liberty of Conscience, Alteration of the Constitution, or other Things of the last Importance to the State. Whilst others, again, were of Opinion, That it would be most conducive to the public Happiness, if there might be two Councils chosen by the People, the one to consist of about three hundred, and to have the Power only of debating and proposing Laws; the other to be in Number about one thousand, to have the Power finally to resolve and determine: Every Year a third Part of each Council to go out, and others to be chosen in their Places.

Ludlow

Ludlow, that great Republican, from whom we have extracted the preceding Systems of Government, then abroad, says, 'That if he might have been permitted to declare his Opinion, he would willingly have approved either of the two last Propositions; presuming them most likely to preserve our just Liberties, and to render us a happy People.'

Inter-regnum.
1659.

October.

Two other Propositions for Government yet remains to be spoken of; the first was what some Members of the Council of State proposed, which was, That the Parliament should appoint twenty of their own Number, and ten of the principal Officers of the Army, to consider of a Form of Government to be reported to the Parliament; and if they approved of it, then the whole Army should be drawn out, and declare their Consent to it; which Proposition, tho' it proved abortive, yet, at that Time, found a general Approbation: Whilst, on the other Hand, the General Officers of the Army were more modest, and only proposed a select standing Senate to be joined to the Representative of the People.

Whether all, or any of these Forms of Republican Government, are included in the so-much celebrated *Oceana* of Sir *James Harrington*, wrote about this Time, we cannot say, having never read that Performance. But here are enough to puzzle the politic Brain of the stiffest Commonwealth's-man. The Course of these Inquires will shew, That none of these Ways was strictly followed; but that the Men in Power began again to shuffle and cut so often, till at last the right Card turn'd uppermost; and that Form of Government was restored, which had been the Custom of this Nation for upwards of a Thousand Years, to that Time. Upon the whole, we think that any Government is upon a slippery Footing, which cannot be supported without a Standing Army; since that which should be its chiefest Strength, has, we find, often proved its Destruction.

